

# EASTERN WORLD

S.E. ASIA • FAR EAST • PACIFIC

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Volume VI



*The U.S. and China*

By RANDALL GOULD

*The Karens in Burma*

By MAUNG MAUNG

*The Crucial Role  
of Li Mi*

By ANDREW ROTH

*Contemporary Art in  
India*

By A. S. RAMAN

*Water Power for  
Australia's Industries*

By HUME DOW

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## **CONTENTS**

EDITORIAL	7
The U.S. and China	Randall Gould 8
The Karens of Burma	Maung Maung 10
The Chinese in Malaya Will Stay	H. I. S. Kanwar 12
Indonesia and the Japanese Peace Treaty	A. Brotherton 15
Rural Education in India	Sir Alfred Chatterton 16
The Voice of India	Ela Sen 18
FROM ALL QUARTERS	20
BOOKS ON THE FAR EAST	22
REVIEW OF REVIEWS	26
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR	26
The Scene in Nepal	Colonel R. G. Leonard 28
"Old Ticker"	H. G. Sass 29
Contemporary Art in India	A. S. Raman 29
The Crucial Role of Li Mi	Andrew Roth 32
Water Power for Australia's Industries	Hume Dow 36

### **COVER PICTURE SHOWS:**

*Boy from the North-West Frontier Province*

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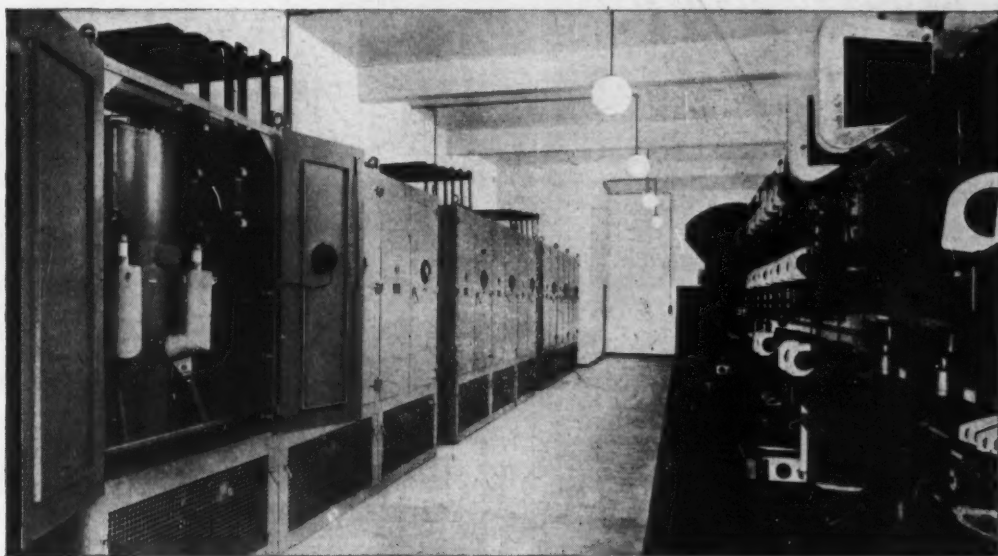
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# EASTERN WORLD

## KOREA

THE acute disappointment over the failure of the military negotiators at the Korean truce committee to come to an agreement, has not been lessened by the activities on the diplomatic side. The United Nations General Assembly did not take an energetic lead in devising measures which would bring about a truce, neither did Mr. Churchill's discussions in Washington produce, as far as can be judged, a satisfactory policy which would take the initiative from the present team at Panmunjom which seems to spend its time in calling each other "running dogs" on the one hand, and "bandits" on the other. The lack of a United Nations policy as to what should be done once the Communists were driven beyond the 38th parallel is now making itself felt. It seems that the partition of Korea will be unavoidable, and while both sides would naturally wish to occupy the whole country, we might now expect negotiators to bow to the inevitable and to accept the position with realism. The general concern of Washington, and of the United Nations, is to make preparations for the eventuality of a Chinese violation of the truce—a truce which has not been concluded yet. It would have impressed us even more if greater concern would have been displayed about the delay of the negotiations and steps taken to prevent the continuous suffering of the troops on both sides. We have now learned that the Chinese, far from being inferior in arms to the United Nations troops, are still building up their forces and that they are now in actual command of the air and it is certain that a war on a gigantic scale would be necessary to dislodge the Communists from North Korea, if this could be achieved at all. It is in the interests of the West to finish the war in Korea. While the United Nations are justified in preparing themselves for every military eventuality, it is high time that the political facts should be taken into consideration and that the true power position in Asia should be recognised. The Chinese Communists are in firm possession of the Chinese mainland, and if we want peace at all, we should give up the farce of dealing with the Formosan emigres in the United Nations, and of pinning our hopes on the decrepit and demoralised troops of General Chiang Kai-shek who will never win back China, but only contribute to the atmosphere of mistrust and suspicion between China and the West. There is not the slightest reason to believe that China has any aggressive plans. If she wishes to prevent a substantially hostile army from reaching her frontiers in Korea, she only does what the U.S. would do if Communist forces were to stand on her Canadian or Mexican borders. The wars in Malaya and Indo-China were initiated long before the Communists reached Peking and there have been no indications that China plans to attack

The death of His Majesty, King George VI, is lamented all over the world and, as a monthly publication, we will not attempt to outline his work and achievements, since this is being done fully by the daily press. We wish to pay tribute, however, to the dignified way and the sympathetic understanding with which the late Sovereign viewed the aspirations of the Asian peoples, an attitude which laid the foundations for the close and friendly ties between Britain and the nations of Asia and the Pacific. We are certain that this happy relationship will be continued by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

South-East Asia. American statements, therefore, that the West has to rally to the defence of South-East Asia against Communism, are misleading. The danger of Communism does not come from outside that region. It rather lies with the low living standard of the peoples in South-East Asia. If we were to concentrate on practical economic reconstruction within the Colombo Plan rather than on the military defence of the region, we would create a much stronger bulwark against Communism than armaments can achieve.

## VISITORS FROM THE EAST

THE recent attack by the *Daily Express* on the British Council for granting a bursary to a Burmese to study laundry methods in Britain, throws an unpleasant light on some aspects of British journalism, and may impart a wrong impression amongst our friends in the East. The facts are simple: Maung Khin Maung Nyunt, the laundry manager of Rangoon General Hospital is here for six months to study the organisation of British hospital laundries for the benefit of new children's hospitals for T.B., V.D., and eye, ear, nose and throat diseases which are to be opened in Burma. Whatever the shortcomings of the British Council may be in other respects, it certainly does not deserve to be attacked in this connection. Although the study of laundry methods may not appear important at first sight, it is obvious that technical assistance to Asia must embrace all kinds of help and training, however undramatic. Maung Khin Maung Nyunt, we understand, wrote a letter to the *Daily Express* pointing out that only part of his expenses were paid by the British Council and that he held commissions for the purchase of a large number of British machines for various Burmese Government departments which alone should make his visit well worth while to the British. It is deplorable that the newspaper in question did not find it fit to publish this letter, but we assure our friends in the East that, far from criticising the arrival of British Council guests from Asia, the informed section of the British public regrets that their number is so limited by necessity, and that those who do come are meeting with our most sincere welcome.



## THE U.S. AND CHINA

*By Randall Gould (Denver, U.S.A.)*

**W**HEN I mention that in the four months I remained in Shanghai after the Chinese Communist occupation of 1949 I did not, to my knowledge, see a single newly arrived Soviet Russian, people often glance at me oddly. Their obvious reaction is to think that here is another pro-Communist apologist. Often they do not press the matter of the Russians but instead, observe innocently:

"Well, what do you think of this talk about the Chinese Communists being mere agrarian reformers?"

Their clear intent is either to frighten me into a disclaimer of any such notion, or to confirm in their own minds that I am really a Red in more or less White clothing. At whatever risk of misunderstanding, however, I am forced in all candour to say that according to my personal observations the Chinese Communists were for years agrarian reformers (of an unscientific Robin Hood type), that they dallied in this role too long for their own good or that of others, and further to remark that a few smart Russian advisers might have been helpful to the Chinese Reds in their first moment of nation-wide victory.

Today there are many thousands of Soviet Russians in China. They poured into Shanghai soon after I left. But certainly they were not behind the scenes when the Chinese Communists, after long wandering in the wilderness, finally and suddenly achieved a success Moscow anticipated no more than Washington or London, if as much. Some in Washington, such as General George C. Marshall, may have had superior knowledge of the drift of events, but their voices were drowned in the political uproar created by those who favoured ever more "help" for the Nationalists under Chiang Kai-shek—help, as it turned out, which played a considerable part in the Communist conquest.

It was one of the great ironies of the Communist achievement that America played so great a part in it—contrary to everything that most Americans desired. This, in my opinion, was due primarily to the inability of Americans on the scene to make their voices heard with effect in Washington and New York. As editor of Shanghai's only American daily newspaper, and as member throughout the post-war period of the boards of directors of both the Shanghai American Chamber of Commerce and the Shanghai American Community Organization, I can testify with feeling that we felt extremely frustrated to note with what little effect we expressed ourselves, so far as the "home folk" were concerned. With real envy we contrasted our relative ineptitude with the much more solidly united positions of Shanghai British organizations and their home government

and trade organizations. But in the period following World War II, it was the United States rather than Great Britain which held power, even though British investments in China far exceeded those of Americans.

The result of this ambiguous state of affairs was that shortly after the end of the war, we in Shanghai were forced to sit by with mingled feelings while UNRRA—an international effort, but one in which the United States played a major supply and policy role—flooded a China not, after all, much devastated materially and therefore not in position to do much "reconstruction," with all manner of goods which did not so much rebuild China as tear down the morals of Chinese officialdom. The subsequent American ECA supply effort was more sophisticated, profiting by UNRRA experience, yet it likewise was mostly of doubtful benefit. In both, the advice of Chinadwelling business folk of all nationalities was largely disregarded, and the Chinese were flooded with ill-controlled bounty rather than treated in the hardboiled business-like fashion they would better have understood, and from which they would have profited more.

One important consequence was to convince the common people of the country, yearning for overdue land and governmental reforms which the Nationalists were forever promising but never delivering, that Chiang Kai-shek was under the thumb of the foreigner, particularly of America. We who knew more could almost feel wry amusement at such an interpretation, natural but contrary to fact; had we controlled Chiang Kai-shek he must, in spite of himself, have done better!

This misinterpretation was completed by the foreign supply of weapons to Chiang's ill-paid, poorly trained and discontented forces, who rather promptly disposed of many of these weapons to their Red foes by sale or surrender. (Many, probably most, of the "volunteer" Chinese fighting United Nations armies in Korea have been former Chiang men). Thus in their final drives the Communists were helped by the dissatisfaction of the countryside, the lack of fighting spirit among the Nationalists, and the, mostly American, arms taken over as welcome additions to their own scant supplies.

In all this, what had the Russians been doing? In the matter of arms they unquestionably assisted the Chinese Communists to seize many Japanese weapons in North China and especially Manchuria. Yet this was a vague general gesture, in line with their historic support of Chinese Communism, and far from the really active aid America was seeking to give the other, allegedly democratic but actually somewhat Fascist, side. Throughout this period Moscow was diplomatically recognising the



Nationalist Government and in characteristic style doing everything it could to rob or wrong that Government through such means as the looting of Manchuria's industrial establishment—a bandit gesture which did no good to Soviet industry, for most of the Manchuria plant was obsolete and fatigued, and the Russians aimlessly lugged it off here and there and left it finally exposed to the elements. Such a thing never would have been done if the Russians had had the slightest idea of a Chinese Communist victory. After that victory they tried to undo the harm they had done in Manchuria, but relatively little could be restored from the original equipment.

The fact is that Moscow had for years felt disillusioned over the capacity of the Chinese Communists to get anywhere. And though they had an embassy at Nanking, and Soviet consulates as well as Tass news agency correspondents scattered throughout the country, it does not appear that their intelligence was good. Quite likely their representatives, diplomatic and journalistic, had fallen into an obedient yes-man role and were reporting what they felt their Moscow masters expected to hear.

It will be recalled that the Nationalist revolution against warlordism in the 1926-7 period was won during the time of the Kuomintang-Communist united front, and with the substantial help of such men as Lev M. Karakhan, Russia's first ambassador (since liquidated) to China, Michael Mihailovich Borodin, and the excellent military expert known variously as Galen or Bleucher. When Chiang split with the Communists in the spring of 1927, he sent the Russians packing, and Moscow gave a poor reception to men who had done a good job only to be cheated of their share of the fruits of victory through internal Chinese forces beyond their control.

Russia at any rate learned that Chinese politics cannot be fully controlled by any foreign nation. It was a lesson the United States has never quite understood despite our usually sensitive perceptions on such matters as the right of self-determination. Probably many of my fellow-Americans feel that the less privileged folk of the world have a *right*, but that on occasion—when we understand better than they do what is for their own good—we can through our power temporarily abridge that right, as habeas corpus is sometimes suspended to restore order after civil strife. Yet it is not so simple, and perhaps for the very reason that the Chinese people have never had the opportunity to express themselves at the polls in regular, orderly fashion China is irresistible in its tendency to build up periodic convictions of wrong administration.

It was the maladministration of a myriad warlords which chiefly won the victory for Nationalism in 1927. Similarly, the Chinese Communists completed an overturn of Kuomintang rule in 1949 less through any merits of their own, or help of any kind from outside, than because of long and growing public dissatisfaction with the Nationalists.

This explains both my initial points—that the revolution was not won by Russian aid, and that the Chinese Communists themselves were caught without preparation for taking over such an industrial centre as Shanghai. For years they had moved over the China countryside, winning such favour as they could by taking from the rich and giving to the poor in a process which, for lack of more competitive improvements, might be reasonably well described as “agrarian reform” especially since it was accomplished with the aid of honest officials and disciplined troops, both of which contrasted sharply with the large but decadent Nationalist governing and military machines.

Had the Chinese Communists studied industrialism, as they should have done by Marxian tenets, and as Trotsky advised in his criticisms of Stalinist advice to China, they would have had at least certain basic theories in mind when they emerged from the hinterland into the industrial cities. Ignorant, bigoted and generally mistaken as the Soviet Russians have often proved, a handful of more sophisticated Russian advisers might have given some direction to the naive Communist officials at that time. But as it was, Shanghai was entered by a beautifully disciplined army backed by a few seemingly timid Red cadres lacking even the desire to consult with “capitalism,” foreign and Chinese. At first they did almost nothing; then, as labour began to complain and look for promised benefits, the only discernible policy was one of telling the rapidly enlarged unions to “exploit the exploiter”—lock in employers and demand more pay, at a time when business was at a standstill and it was a problem to find the money for any pay at all. Far from seeking to take over industrial enterprises, the officials were clearly puzzled to know how to handle those which went automatically into their hands because of previous State ownership. Under such chaotic conditions there was no real policy line at all, unless anarchy may be termed a policy; promises to protect and co-operate with existing industrial and business enterprises were ignored, and there was an inevitable trend towards the termination of foreign enterprise. This the Communists fiercely resisted, using labour as their instrument, whereupon the matter became one of blackmail. Only by importing virtual ransom payments from outside China could the responsible heads of foreign companies win their freedom, and that is how I, among many others, left.

Readers may draw a variety of morals from the foregoing. One is that the success of the Chinese Communists was due mostly to the old rule that nature abhors a vacuum—the Nationalists had grown to represent a vacuum in the way of useful service to the country, so the Communists were swept into power. Russia was an old but by no means especially serviceable friend to the Chinese Reds; this meant that the Russians were bound to be welcomed when they came to bring belated “help” yet they were in no position to dictate, nor does it appear that they have

proved particularly serviceable. About the best they have done is to refrain from efforts to exploit China, thus far at least, in the pattern of the true Soviet satellite. Certainly other foreign countries—the United States more than Great Britain in this instance—have things to learn from the recent record, and of these the greatest is the need to adopt a level businesslike attitude towards China, neither one of undue benevolence nor of dictation, economic or political.

The China situation is disheartening to the democratic world at present, especially while the Korean trouble strengthens Communist internal control and dependence upon Russia. But China is not a country where an hour, a year, even a decade, is decisive. In the long run such industrial nations as the United States and Great Britain can do much more for China than can Russia. This natural fact is something to remember and to steer by in future courses.

## THE KARENS IN BURMA

*By Maung Maung*

THE year 1949 was a year of brilliant successes for the Karen National Defence Organisation (KNDO); its units raced from Maymyo to Mandalay, took Meikhtila, the garrison and headquarters of the Government Army North District, and swept down to Pegu in the south; Insein, a few miles out of Rangoon fell to the Karens and for a few anxious months the Government was besieged in its own capital. In the wake of Karen victories followed the Communists and other insurgent bands, plundering as they moved in the undefended areas, preaching their brands of Marxism, and building their versions of the People's Republic. It was a chaotic year, but the Government survived; many of its troops mutinied and joined the lawless bands, but those that remained loyal, especially the Chin, Kachin and Shan units, fought well. The Karen advance was stayed on the outskirts of Pegu while the tardy conquerors of Insein were eventually forced out. KNDO troops scattered and broke; they held Toungoo for many more months but, cut off from effective help, they slowly withered away. Some surrendered to the Government and availed themselves of the generous amnesty offered, some have withdrawn to their hill and jungle homes.

Now the Karen State for which KNDO fought so bravely seems to be emerging. The Constitution Amendment Bill of 1951 has been passed by the Burmese Provisional Parliament and after the Boundary Commission have settled the area to be comprised in the new State, Karen aspiration for regional autonomy should be realised. The problem of demarcation, however, is by no means an easy one. The Salween District, the home of a large group of the one and a half million Karens in Burma, will probably be allotted to the new State, but another large group live in the fertile Delta which produces a large portion of Burma's rice, and Karens are sprinkled all over other parts of southern Burma as well. To move the scattered groups into the new State may be possible but the Karens are attached to their homes and soil, and even for the sake of a separate State, they may not like to migrate. On the other hand, to allot separated areas to the Karens may involve great administrative difficulties.

Leaving the details of building the Karen State to the Boundary Commission which is in active function in Rangoon, it may be observed that the KNDO rising was one of the most tragic events that happened in Burma after she attained nationhood in January 1948, because by statesmanship and goodwill on both sides it could have been avoided. The Constitution of the Union of Burma contemplated a separate Karen State and Article 180 prescribes the machinery for ascertaining the wishes of the Karens on this matter, for the creation of the State and also makes suggestions as to the territorial limits of the State. Until the Karen State is constituted, a Special Region to be known as Kaw-thu-lay is to be the nursery for the future Karen State; the Minister for Karen Affairs is a member of the Burmese Cabinet.

There was thus adequate constitutional machinery for the building of the coveted State and, further, a Regional Autonomy Commission had been appointed with the Chief Justice of the Union as chairman and leaders of the Karen National Union and other Karen elements among the members. Its duty was to recommend to the Government the practical steps that should be taken towards the new State. The relationship between the Karen National Union and the Government was cordial and Prime Minister Thakin Nu and Saw Ba U Gyi, the Karen leader, spent considerable time, on the eve of the rebellion, exchanging visits and making friendly speeches. Intelligence reports of the impending Karen uprising said to have been laid before the Government, were unheeded. It looked like a glorious honeymoon till Insein was occupied and Maymyo was seized by the Karens and the first hint was given that all was not well.

The Karens most certainly deserve the separate State they desire for not only are they the largest of the racial minorities in Burma, but they possess the qualities of citizenship that will help them to make their State a success. But why, when the fulfilment of their ambition seemed to be in sight, did they leave the friendly conference table for the field of armed rebellion? Observers have tried to answer that the Karen minority was oppressed by the

Burman majority, their legitimate rights were denied and that they turned in desperation to rebellion. This explanation is not supported by facts. Before and at the time of the ill-starred revolt, the Karens were occupying privileged positions in public life: there is a sizeable Karen bloc in Parliament, a Karen Minister of Communications in the Burmese Cabinet, besides, of course, the Minister for Karen Affairs. The Commander-in-Chief of the Union Armed Forces was a Karen, so was the Chief of Air Staff. There are Karen officers in charge of Karen and mixed districts while Karen Liaison Officers look after the interests of those Karens who live among their Burman brethren all over the country. In civil service recruitments, being a Karen was an advantage to the candidate. The explanation that oppression made the Karens desperate is not founded on logic.

One real reason for Karen impatience would seem to be the deep-rooted fear and distrust that they have traditionally had for the Burman. The Karen is a simple, honest, hard-working man who is happy in his village in the hills, the Burman is nimble-witted and he can and often does exploit his simple neighbour. The majority of Karens and Burmans are Buddhists, but a minority of the Karens, who constitute the leadership of their race, are Christians who have been educated in mission schools and the Judson Memorial College of the Rangoon University, and they felt closer to Britain and the West than resurgent nationalism would let the Burmans feel at the time. When war and the Japanese came to Burma, there were a few unfortunate incidents involving the nationalist Burman groups and the Karens in the Delta. There were excesses on both sides and the Karens find it difficult to forget them. Negotiations for the Karen State were long drawn out, and the Government, engaged in putting down Communist risings here and there in the country, was not, to the Karen mind, producing satisfactory results. Besides, time for rebellion was opportune. The Government was in distress. Some KNDO units had been armed by the Government to help in the desperate drive for peace and order; nothing could be easier than to use the weapons to force the issue of the Karen State. The Union Armed Forces were not a formidable deterrent; in fact, mutiny was apparent in the Forces since political elements among the officers and men were restive. The KNDO thus chose a strategic time for going into action. If they did not succeed it was not because they lacked military skill or unity or spirit. Karen myths have it that Taw-me-pha, the hero, would return one day and lead the Karens to greatness and glory. Taw-me-pha apparently returned and nearly reached Rangoon.

After two years of fighting the Karens and the Burmans are once more back where they left off: Parliament has passed the Constitution Amendment Bill, the Boundary Commission is back at work and soon the controversial State should emerge. The fateful two years have borne abundant though unwholesome fruits. The



*Karenni girl at the market*

Communist rebellion which was in its last throes when the Karens rebelled, received a new lease of life and, using the Karens as a shield, the doctrinaire Communists have been able to continue with their activities. The country has suffered loss of life and property which it will be difficult to make up for many years. There have again been excesses on both sides and old wounds have been reopened and new ones inflicted. The Karens lost their able, though often misguided leader Saw Ba U Gyi; many important leaders are now working with the Government in planning the new State, but young hot-blooded rebels still lead their reduced and dwindling bands in their jungle hide-outs waiting perhaps for the reappearance of the elusive Taw-me-pha.

The task before the Karens and the Burmans will not be finished when the Karen State becomes a reality. In fact, this should be the starting point for building closer and friendlier relationships between the two peoples so that the shadow of the past may be lifted from their present and their future. It would be unwise and unpractical for the Karens to withdraw into the shell of their State and



live on memories, just as it is impossible for the Burmans to do without the active help of the Karens in restoring peace and stability in the country and building a truly democratic and prosperous Union. The Karens will have their own Head of State who will, as Minister for the Karen State, be a member of the Union Cabinet. Their Council of State will have the power to make domestic laws and the Karens will be represented in the Union Chamber of Nationalities which is co-equal with the Chamber of Deputies except that Money Bills must be initiated in the latter. But these legal and formal relationships are of secondary importance; what matters most is the resumption of the honeymoon that was disturbed in 1949, and this time it should be an enduring union. No doubt heavier responsibility for making the future safe and happy for the two peoples falls on the Burmans since they form the majority and, if previous mistakes on either side are counted they will probably have the longer list. The Karens on their part should mix and intermingle more freely with their Burman brethren. In this world of interdependence Burma cannot afford to stay aloof and alone in the family of nations, and inside Burma, the

component States cannot exist apart from the Union. The Karens and the Burmans may deplore or approve of this but their destinies are linked, and they must learn to live together.

The emergence of the Karen State is raising hopes for separate States of their own in other minority races of Burma, but it will not be right to encourage such aspirations. The United Mon Association, an amorphous organisation, has come forth with a claim, supporting it with some facts dug up from history; the Mons, it was alleged "at one time held sovereign power like any other nation of the United Nations Organisation." Their last king, Binnya Dala, ruled the Mon Kingdom from 1747 to 1757 A.D. and died in 1774. Though they "could, by appeal to international law, claim complete sovereignty" they "have not chosen to do so" but only claim a State within the Union of Burma—as if the function of international law is to preserve ancient kingdoms. What Burma needs today is stabilisation and hard work, with ideological and racial differences forgotten. When peace prevails within and the Union prospers, there should be equal opportunity for all though there may not be separate States for all.

## THE CHINESE IN MALAYA WILL STAY

*By H. I. S. Kanwar*

**A**LTHOUGH it is commonly supposed that the Chinese came to Malaya after the British had entered the country, to develop its tin and rubber industries, the Chinese actually were in contact with Malaya long before the Christian Era, when they had known the use of the mariners' compass, and maintained an almost regular connection from the fifth century onwards.

Fa-hien, the noted Buddhist scholar, on his way back to China from India about 400 A.D., visited Malaya. During the Sung dynasty China sent envoys to the Malayan world, such missions continuing for centuries. The Srivijaya, which had connections with the Chinese since 670 A.D., sent tribute-bearing missions right up to the 10th century.

Marco Polo's travels in this region about 1290 reveal that Chinese pirates had lairs in the East Indian Islands. About 1400, a Chinese envoy called on the Chief of Malacca, who recognised the might of the Chinese Emperor and paid him tribute, as a result of which the latter recognised him as king of Malacca. In 1405, Admiral Cheng-ho brought precious gifts from his emperor to the Malaccan king to further cement China's connections.

The Chinese emperors not only succeeded in estab-

lishing cordial relations with neighbouring countries in South-East Asia, but also exercised considerable influence in their internal and external affairs. With Malacca as a stepping stone, they gradually strengthened their ties with the Malay Peninsula, for they had long realised the potential value of its economic resources and trade.

Ptolemy mentions that ever since their contact with Malaya, the Chinese were mining tin there, and as such they can be considered as pioneers in this respect. Dulang washing, first introduced by the Chinese, is still in vogue today. It is also on record that the British East India Company collected tin from Penang and transported it to China for smelting.

In 1819, Raffles found the newly acquired "lion-city" of Singapura to be a lair of pirates, mainly Chinese, and it took the British over 50 years to clear them out. Soon after the proclamation of Singapore as a free port, the Chinese flocked to the island in large numbers, finally transforming it into the virtually Chinese city that it is today.

The influx of Chinese increased considerably when the British decided to import labour from outside to work the tin and rubber industries, but little did they then realise that within a century or so, the Chinese in Singapore



would outnumber the Malays. The Chinese had by then become firmly embedded in the social and economic life of the country. They provided cheap and efficient labour, some of them working their way up to own many large enterprises. The majority of the 2,650,000 Chinese in Malaya today are descended from these pioneer labourers. They outnumber the Malays and in most Malayan towns they have their own quarter.

Originally coming for short periods and later returning to their homes in Kwangtung, Fukien and Kwangsi, they came back in larger numbers after establishing contacts. Up to 30 years ago, they generally left their women-folk behind, often contracting local marriages, which goes to prove that the Straits Chinese are of mixed blood. Although more Chinese women have since entered Malaya, the males are still double the number of females.

The Cantonese form the bulk of the Chinese element, the most important sects being Hokkien, Khehs, Teo Cheos, Hakkas and Hock Chias. Being a mixed bag, they are divided into sections acting against one another and mainly striving for business leadership. Their religions include Buddhism, Confucianism and Christianity.

Naturally hardworking in contrast to the Malays, they form the economic backbone of the country, sharing a major part of the commerce with the Europeans. The Chinese community is so firmly embedded in Malaya, that a section call themselves "Straits Chinese," and their influence has caused the inclusion of Chinese words in colloquial Malay, which they speak in their homes as if it were their mother tongue. Forming about 35 per cent, of the total Chinese element, they are essentially Chinese by race, religion and culture, but consider themselves as sons of the soil. Most of them have never been to China. Being better educated and more advanced in many respects than their brethren, they believe themselves superior in status and this has brought about a certain amount of friction.

Two factors have, however, caused them to shed this attitude—the nationalist policy of the KMT regime, which impressed on all overseas Chinese the benefit of patriotism to China, and secondly they have been drawn together against the immigration policy, which through seeking to protect Malay interests has tended to be detrimental to the Chinese.

By nature industrious and enterprising, seldom fearing to risk capital in commerce, the Chinese possess initiative of a high order. They are found in every sphere of life, from a Federal Councillor or a business magnate to a trishaw puller or a petty hawker on the streets. Having built up a reputation for clean business, they are regarded with respect by traders of other communities, with whom they maintain cordial relations. By virtue

of mixing with the diverse population, they have come to acquire a cosmopolitan outlook.

They are highly organised as a community, and run their own vernacular newspapers and an English daily called the *Singapore Tiger Standard*, the bulk of whose shares are held by Aw Boon Haw, popularly known as the "Tiger-Balm King." The Malayan Chinese have their own chamber of commerce and other organisations.

Interest in the education of their community led them to establish their own vernacular schools for boys and girls, the outstanding ones being the Chinese High School and the Nang Tang Girls' School in Singapore. In sport they have made their mark in Malayan leagues in cricket, football and badminton.

When the Japanese invaded Malaya, the Malayan Chinese rose to resist the invaders. But the Malayan Government omitted to make full use of Chinese manpower, this blunder being exposed in Maxwell's *Civil Defence of Malaya*. The underlying reason for this state of affairs was that all along the white man has been a trifle suspicious of the Chinese, restricted their immigration as an excuse to protect Malay interests, and in actual fact found them staunch rivals in the sphere of enterprise.

During the Japanese regime, the Chinese were the worst sufferers, for apart from the fact that many had their properties confiscated wholesale, thousands were tortured, maimed or killed. Their women suffered wild orgies of rape and debauchery, while their children were made targets for bayonet practice. This persecution lasted over three years and is vividly described in *Malaya Upside Down*, by Chin Kee Onn, a publication which had official support. Despite their sufferings the Malayan Chinese came forward to form the bulk of the MPAJA during the occupation. Force 136, the Allies' Fifth Column in South-Asia, was predominantly Chinese in character. As is now well known, this force did wonderful work and proved invaluable to the British re-entry into Malaya.

From the turmoil that Malaya suffered under the Japanese, the Malayan Chinese emerged as a new force, a solid entity stronger than before, well conscious of their political rights and responsibilities. With the formation of the UMNO, the Chinese founded the Malayan Chinese Association to look after their interests in Malaya. When united they were able to obtain 14 seats out of the total of 50 in the Federal Council.

In the past it has been stated that the Malays dislike the Chinese generally, but it is not always correct to say so simply because the latter are economically better off than the Malays, who by nature are unenterprising and well known for their "tiada-apa" (or "never mind") attitude.

The Chinese are staunch fighters, and will for a long

time to come be a force to be reckoned with in the political field. They have played an important part in the economic development of Malaya, and as such they have a right to fair representation in the government. To give an idea of the lopsided nature of the allotment of seats, it would surprise even a moderate to know that the mere 30,000 Europeans have 7 seats, as compared to the 14 given to the Chinese, while the Malays have 22.

The present disturbances in Malaya have been attributed to Communists, particularly Chinese. The fact remains, however, that the majority of the Malayan Chinese are loyal to the Government, and a number of



Dato Tan Cheng Lock

those who strayed into the Communist fold are being feverishly salvaged by the British, who are trying their best not only to rehabilitate the squatters, but also to mould them into useful citizens, a great experiment in itself.

The attitude of the Chinese in Malaya can be summed up as follows: as the largest political entity, they insist on representation on a population basis; they resent the severity of the immigration and citizenship laws, which have lowered them to what they term "second grade citizenship"; being treated as aliens, they ask how it could be possible for them to give their full and whole-hearted co-operation in a state which does not take them as its own; once having achieved full citizenship for all

Malayans, they advocate introduction of free elections to the councils; and finally, they desire a self-governing Malaya as a dominion within the Commonwealth.

Despite all the above, the MCA, led by the veteran Dato Tan Cheng Lock, reacted favourably to the establishment of the Federation, to give it a fair trial. The general feeling in certain quarters that "ten million Chinese in South-East Asia constitute a potential fifth column and are fence-sitters" has been condemned by Dato Tan, who retorted recently, "This unceasing fear of the overseas Chinese has been constantly injected into the people and the idea spread all over the world. It springs from ignorance, prejudice and ulterior motives, and it has produced an anti-Chinese policy in some countries in South-East Asia." This calls for a more realistic approach to the Chinese problem, and the sooner the better.

Chinese reaction to the formation of the Independence of Malaya Party by Dato Onn, ex-UMNO leader, has been unanimous. Dato Tan Cheng Lock, at the inauguration of the IMP on September 16, 1951, called upon all Chinese to give their full and active support, and said,

"What Malaya requires is a constitution under which the individuals of all communities are accorded equal rights and responsibilities, political, economic and others, with the specific safeguard of a balanced representation in the government, to ensure that no one community would be in a position to dominate or outvote all the others put together. In Malaya, the Malays, Indians and Chinese have lived in peace, harmony and friendship. There was no valid reason why this state of affairs should not continue to prevail. . . ."

At the same meeting, Dato Tan condemned Communist activities, stating:

"The greatest single hindrance to the declaration of independence in this country was the Communist terrorism. . . . The brutal activities of these peoples are not contributing to the political welfare of this country, or bringing nearer the day of self-government. . . . As the Independence of Malaya Party aims at hastening independence it must take active steps to end the emergency."

The formation of the IMP had the official backing of both the late Sir Henry Gurney and Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, who realised that the only way to fight Communism is to encourage a "safe nationalism," and unless this is achieved it is feared that the Malayan problem will remain unsolved.

The question as to whether the Chinese in Malaya will ever be pushed out of the country has an apt answer in that invaluable book *The Chinese in Malaya*, by Dr. Victor Purcell, one of the greatest living authorities on the Chinese in South-East Asia. He says:

"For better or for worse, Malaya has ceased to be purely Malay; it is a plural society, and the race predominant in industry and commerce, in initiative and industry, in capital and in labour, in economics and politics, is the Chinese. The Chinese in Malaya have come to stay."

Under the circumstances, therefore, can this assumption be doubted?

# Indonesia and the Japanese Peace Treaty

By A. Brotherton

IN Europe public reaction to the proposal and subsequent signing of a United States-sponsored Peace Treaty with Japan was diminished, it seemed, by the passage of time and geographical remoteness. Even in Britain, whose steel and textile industries will certainly suffer from Japanese competition, expressions of disapproval were only sporadic and the British Parliament has ratified the treaty.

But in the countries of the Pacific, with first-hand experience of Japanese aggression, popular opposition was extremely vocal. The trade unions in particular in Australia waged a vigorous campaign against acceptance of the terms drawn up by the United States, and the realisation of the danger to Australian interests presented by the revival of Japan as an unrestrained trade rival brought wide support to this campaign. One large chain-store organisation announced its intention of refusing to handle any goods of Japanese origin. As the newspapers were forced to admit, the Menzies Government signed the treaty with the support of only a small minority of the population.

Both India and Burma refused to participate in the conference at San Francisco, this attitude being determined as much by the wish to maintain friendly relations with the Chinese People's Republic as by understandable suspicion of United States motives in maintaining a large measure of economic, political and military control—directly and indirectly—over a nominally independent Japan. These suspicions were heightened by the brusque American dismissal of the objections to the text of the treaty brought forward by the Indian and Burmese Governments.

Whilst the acceptance of the American invitation to attend the San Francisco conference and sign the prepared and unalterable text of the treaty by the Philippines Government, by the Bao Dai regime in Viet Nam and by the Songgram Government in Siam was never in doubt there was a distinct possibility that the Indonesian Government would follow the line of India. Not only has Indonesia shown more than once a reluctance to be ranged irrevocably with one bloc or another, as with the refusal to allow refuelling of vessels proceeding to Korea, but the Indian attitude was sure to find an echo in Indonesia for Indian sympathy for the Indonesian Republic has been constant since the declaration of Independence in 1945 and the two countries have since maintained close and friendly relations.

Even without the fact of the Indian rejection of the American invitation, the violent press campaign in Indonesia against the proposed treaty could have been interpreted as a forecast of the Government's attitude. Despite the very evident widespread opposition the

Indonesian Government announced its decision to send a delegation to San Francisco. This decision was opposed by six of the fourteen members of the coalition Cabinet in which the Masjumi (Muslim) Party has the majority of portfolios.

As if to placate public opinion, Government statements issued prior to the departure of the delegation emphasised that there was no commitment to sign the treaty as it stood, and that the Indonesian viewpoint was to be presented. This implied that Indonesian support for United States policy was to be bargained for unspecified advantages. The divergence of the views of the Indonesian and Indian Governments was explained in a statement which declared that on certain issues the two countries would naturally be in agreement but on others the policy of each government could only be determined by national interests. The government also declared that there was no intention of antagonising the Chinese People's Republic. None of these assurances diminished the opposition to which the newspapers were giving daily expression.

A further reflection of the opinion prevailing at the time is to be seen in the narrowness of the decision by the Government party, Masjumi, to agree with the sending of a delegation to the conference. Only after a debate of two days, at which only 33 of the 60 members of the Central Executive were present, the voting was 17 for, 14 against and two abstentions. More than likely a larger attendance of the executive members would have resulted in a negative vote more in keeping with the editorials of the Masjumi press.

In contrast to the uncertainty in the Masjumi ranks the Partai Nasional Indonesia, the second largest party, declared its unconditional rejection of the United States invitation. The Secretary-General of the PNI stated that his party would, without attempting to force the resignation of the Government, also oppose ratification of the treaty if it were signed.

Less emphatic was the equivocal stand of the Partai Indonesia Raja whose spokesman cautiously announced that further details were awaited before any party directive could be issued. Apparently the PIR has since given its tacit support to the Government.

The Indonesian Socialist Party, which has a not inconsiderable following, issued a statement declaring that Indonesian relations with Japan could be settled without participation in the San Francisco Conference and that the participation of the Indonesian Government in the San Francisco Conference was at variance with the wishes of the Indonesian people. Friendly relations with neighbouring countries, the statement added, would be endangered by the signing of the treaty. Sutan Sjahrir, who can still



claim to have a fairly large personal following, added his voice to the anti-government clamour and pointed to the possible disadvantages that may result from signing the treaty.

Support for the Government came from the leadership of the Catholic Party, which is by no means a mass party. This stand was later confirmed at a congress of the party which by some involved process of reasoning had arrived at the conclusion that by signing the treaty the Indonesian Government would be better able to press its claims to Western Irian.

A consensus of press opinion also confirms the absence of support for the Government on this issue. Both *Abadi*, the organ of Masjumi, and *Pemandangan*, a rather less right-wing supporter of Masjumi, both opposed the signing of the treaty, without expressing any enthusiasm for the sending of a delegation. *Abadi* stressed the need for friendly relations with neighbouring countries as being of greater importance than hoped-for aid from the United States. The Socialist Party organ, *Pedoman*, also adopted this line of argument.

Thus in the face of what was in fact an all-embracing national unpopularity the Indonesian delegation signed the treaty. A tendency to accept this as inevitable was discernible in the press, but opposition has by no means disappeared. *Pedoman* warned the Government that Dr. Subardjo, Foreign Minister and leader of the delegation

would find it difficult to demonstrate that Indonesia had not forsaken independence in foreign policy by signing the treaty, and was inclined to justify the action of the Government by saying that India would stand alone in not being able to come to some later arrangement with Japan. Dr. Subardjo claimed that Indonesia would have been forced into isolation had he not signed the treaty.

However precarious may have been the position of the Sukiman Government immediately before and after signing the San Francisco treaty it has managed to weather the storm of criticism directed against it but there remains the parliamentary vote on ratification. Here the Government will again face heavy opposition, but in view of the avowed intention of the PNI not to take any action which may cause the fall of the Government it is not certain how the votes will be cast.

Within the near future elections are due to be held in Indonesia and amongst the many issues confronting the voters the question of the San Francisco treaty will loom large. If the controversy around the signing of the San Francisco treaty is any indication there will certainly be a change of government even if the present rather pro-American cabinet survives the vote on ratification. The consequences of such a change would directly affect the alignment of forces in the Pacific, a potential development of particular concern to the United States and Australian Governments.

## RURAL EDUCATION IN INDIA

By Sir Alfred Chatterton

IT is not in India only but also in most of the densely populated regions of the tropics both in Asia and Africa that it is now generally recognised that there is a growing shortage of food, and that it is deficient in quality as well as quantity. The margin of cultivation is steadily extending to poorer classes of land which yield crops of inferior nutritional value. The spread of Communism is due to the fact that its advocates promise that, if its doctrines are put into practice, there will be an increase in productive power resulting in a material rise in the standard of living. The dictators of the U.S.S.R. claim that by ruthless methods they have not only vastly increased the food supply but have improved the quality of the grain beyond all measure. This has been achieved by the establishment of collective farms of sufficient size to permit the introduction of mechanical methods of cultivation. Now no one is allowed to sow any but the standard Soviet grain from one end of the country to the other. These measures were very unpopular with the Kulaks or farmers and millions of them were wiped out by their labourers. This went on for four years and was fearful while it lasted, but it was absolutely necessary for Russia if periodic famines were to be avoided. Thus Stalin described what had happened in the U.S.S.R. to Mr. Churchill when he visited Moscow in 1942.

A comparison between the conditions which formerly existed within the territories of the U.S.S.R. and those which now prevail in India and are likely to be greatly accentuated in the future would not be in any way helpful in discussing how the standard of living is to be raised from its present low level,

despite the fact that the number to be fed is increasing by nearly five millions a year. What should be done is tolerably well known, and to some extent attempts are being made to implement the measures that are necessary to meet the emerging problems which, year by year, will become more grave and more difficult.

It will be convenient first to state why an area of one and three-quarter million square miles is unable to support a population of four hundred millions and that the importation of millions of tons of grain are necessary to prevent the presence of real famine conditions over large areas. Statistics regarding the average yield of some of the staple crops when compared with those of other countries furnish the answer, which will be found in the following table:—

AVERAGE YIELD OF CROPS IN LBS. PER ACRE

	Rice	Wheat	Sugar	Cotton
India ...	1,300	605	2,400	90
Japan ...	3,000	1,525	3,340	180
Egypt ...	2,800	1,245	3,380	370
Canada ...		1,530		
Hawaii ...			18,800	
Java ...			12,000	
Gt. Britain ...		2,200		
U.S.A. ...				155

This furnishes convincing evidence that notwithstanding one-fifth of the cultivation in India is under irrigation and to



that extent immune from failures due to the vagaries of the monsoons, the cultivation of the soil is carried on under conditions which do not prevail elsewhere, and it suggests that if suitable remedies could be applied a very large increase in productivity would be ensured and means found to sustain the present population on a very much higher plane.

Twenty-five years ago a Royal Agricultural Commission was appointed to review the conditions in rural India. The report was far from optimistic. Their final conclusion was "that no substantial improvement in agriculture can be effected unless the cultivator has the will to achieve a better standard of living and the capacity in terms of mental equipment and of physical health to take advantage of the opportunities which science, wise laws and good administration may place at his disposal. Of all the factors making for prosperous agriculture by far the most important is the outlook of the peasant himself." In the years that have intervened since this report was issued valuable work has been done by strengthening the administration which controls the central and provincial departments of agriculture. On the other hand, only isolated attempts have been made to deal with the psychology of the man himself; to broaden his outlook and create in him a desire to participate in the more civilised conditions which he sees in a vague way are enjoyed by those who have left the land in the hope of gaining some share in the amenities of town life. In this connection outstanding work was done by Mr. F. L. Brayne when he was Deputy Commissioner of the Gurgaon District in the Punjab, but it is now more than probable that the political changes of the last few years have effaced all traces of a very valuable piece of social pioneer work. Obviously any attempt to get the land holders and cultivators to realise the disadvantages under which they live and which are capable of great improvement can only be brought home to them by the intelligent leadership of men on the spot who are able and willing to devote their lives to overcoming the conservatism and suspicion which invariably attends any attempt to introduce new ideas or to advocate changes in habits and customs which have been handed down through the centuries. It should be their business to interpret to the people the changes going on in the world and the way in which they are affected thereby, and to explain to them how they would benefit by adopting approved results of experiments and the scientific study of agricultural methods. That is to say they should be liaison officers. Here certainly is a field open to the products of higher education and one which will tax their capacity, however great, to the utmost.

The lack of amenities in rural life and the altruistic character of the work should appeal to the higher type of Indian mind. There may be many men willing to take up this work who are qualified by local standing and influence but few are equipped by previous training and experience to do so with any hope of obtaining good results.

In India, which is under democratic forms of Government, it would be easy and urgently advisable when the central and provincial budgets are under discussion, that debates on the steps necessary to combat the growing precarious state of the food supply should be initiated and possibly a powerful and expert commission appointed to report on the situation and in the end to make definite recommendations as to what should be done, giving due recognition to the very difficult conditions which prevail in various parts of the country. A full but concise statement of the work in hand and what is contemplated in the immediate future would undoubtedly excite public interest and facilitate the collection of information especially with regard to the psychological reactions to many of the proposals which have already been before the public, such as the consolidation into single plots of the minute fragmentation of holdings either by consent of the holders or by specific legislation; the prevention

of the waste of water in irrigation and the modification of the Hindu laws of inheritance especially those pertaining to the family system and the disposition of property acquired by individual efforts, and finally the demonstration of the value of fertilizers to restore to the soil those elements which are not now available in sufficient quantity.

The Government of India are facing the grim situation which looms ahead with plans to remedy the agricultural deficiencies and to provide for a more rapid expansion of industries on modern lines. These include the construction of hydro-electric plants with reservoirs to secure a continuous flow of water, which after passing the power house can be used for irrigation, the diversion of river water into canals for the same purpose and the utilisation of electric energy to bring subterranean water to the surface.

So far, in India at any rate, little thought has been given to the seasonal character of agriculture and to the consequent



*Despite the irrigation projects under way in India, the bulk of the work is carried out by hard work and primitive, if ingenious, instruments. Pictured here is a typical irrigation system for a rice paddy field in Madras. The peasants tread back and forth along the hollow log, to see-saw water through it from the ditch on the right*

fact that for considerable periods of the year there is little or no work to be done and it seems important that schemes should be evolved to introduce subsidiary occupations for these periods of involuntary idleness.

Industry should be developed to establish a balanced diversity of occupations for the intelligentsia but one may well ask if sufficient consideration has been given to the fact that the introduction of modern methods of manufacture will displace hand labour, and to the fact that mechanised farming will also operate in the same direction. It should be noted, however, that where power plants displace the employment of animals for the work of lifting water from wells, or where tractors are used to cultivate land which requires deep ploughing, the displacement is of advantage since it reduces the demand for cattle food and renders land available for food crops suitable for human consumption. This especially applies to the crushing of sugar cane which is exceptionally hard on the cattle, resulting in the extraction of the juice being both inefficient and costly.

To bring about the reforms, we may almost call it revolution, foreshadowed above, much greater attention must be paid to rural education, the object of which should be greatly expanded

beyond its present scope so that it may reach the adults as well as the children in the 700,000 villages in which they live. Universal suffrage has been established and the electorate should be given information as to what is going on in the world around them and how they will be affected by an intense struggle between the advocates of two utterly opposed ideologies, one of which connotes an orderly freedom to the individual and the other that the State is of supreme importance.

India, to save its soul, must take every possible measure to counteract Communist propaganda. To do this it is suggested that the Government should issue factual information in a weekly or monthly journal printed in all the leading vernacular languages and in English. Also that it should make very much greater use of broadcasting in the form of simple talks which will appeal to more or less illiterate audiences. To carry out such methods of propaganda will be difficult at the start for reasons which will be obvious to the Government, for lack of suitable transmitting stations and of speakers to use them. Further, many loudspeaking receivers will be required so that the cost of initial experiments over a comparatively limited area which can be covered by one vernacular will be considerable. The Journal could be issued at the outset as it would assist in the training of competent broadcasters supplying them with the sort of information which it will be their function to put on the air. In the past the expenditure on education has been mainly in favour of that which leads to the Universities and to special colleges such as those of Law, Medicine, and Engineering, whilst post-graduate work has been chiefly provided for by private munificence such as the Institute of Science, which was founded by the Tata family. In 1925 in the Madras Presidency the population was about 37 millions and

the total expenditure on education was Rs. 61 lakhs. In the Punjab with a population of 19 millions it amounted to Rs. 31 lakhs. Assuming that in the other Provinces the rate was approximately the same, and it was certainly not more, we arrive at the result that at that date India spent on education only 3 annas per head of the population which is equivalent to one tenth of a pie per day. A very moderate amount which yielded exceptionally good results. In 1941-42 the total expenditure had risen to Rs. 3,086 lakhs which may be taken as roughly equal to 12 annas per head. Making allowances, however, for the depreciation in the value of the rupee during the last half century, the real rise in expenditure was probably not more than 50 per cent., and of this increase it may be safely stated that by far the major part has gone to promote secondary and still higher branches of education. From this we may deduce that very little has been done to promote the uplift of rural areas. The need today is to excite the interest of the people in the glaring defects of their present way of life and to get them to see that unless they will voluntarily adapt themselves to a new outlook on their traditional methods of conducting their affairs they are running great risks which may expose them to untold miseries in the future.

Financing the education of rural India will involve a great strain on its revenues which are already overburdened by the allotments for the army in both of the Dominions, and if only a peaceable and permanent settlement of the Kashmir question could be arrived at, a very large reduction in the military budgets could be made which would render it possible to provide funds for carrying out proposals which would go far to avert a catastrophic failure of the food supply and eliminate the potential danger of a spread of Communism.

## THE VOICE OF INDIA

*By Ela Sen*

**F**OR the first time in modern history the people of India have gone to the polls to choose their own representatives. The importance of this is perhaps not apparent to those who have long enjoyed the right to vote, but when it is realised that formerly those who spoke for the people of India were the rich and the ruling classes, then perhaps the significance of this tremendous fact is not lost. While the British were the rulers of India the franchise was only extended to property owners, and the holders of university degrees. It followed that in a nation predominantly illiterate and where the individual earning per day can be calculated in pennies, the majority of people remained completely voiceless.

However, it is not an easy task to teach an illiterate people to use their votes judiciously and correctly. One of the main difficulties was the preparation of electoral rolls, for in some cases this was violently objected to by the people, in fact, three million women refused to allow themselves to be registered. Other practical difficulties which the Government encountered were the paper shortage and the lack of competent personnel, hence the elections were continually postponed.

The issue involved is simple and direct—it is that of food, a very fundamental issue. The people of India have suffered colonial exploitation for two centuries,

which has impoverished their agricultural potentialities and created a strangely primitive mercantilism which cannot support the working class it needs for its existence. Therefore, from their own people and their own representatives the masses want adequate food and freedom from want. Is it strange, then, that foreign policies and relationships mean little to them unless they are in some way related to food? It is their basic need, and for them the election has only this one-point programme for each party. Inevitably linked to the problem of food is that of production, and therefore to land legislation, and this is the second most important issue.

The British established landlordism in India for the collection of their taxes, and for two centuries the Indian peasant suffered under the whip of landlords and intermediary landlords, who reduced the majority to a landless condition. Now the peasants are calling for the nationalisation of land, and the present Government has made this one of its election promises.

The position of the parties involved as they prepared for the elections is very interesting in relation to the actual results that are at hand at the time of writing. The Congress Party having been the spearhead of the national liberation movement was credited with the largest following. It was the party of Gandhi and Nehru. Its credit,

as the party of the old stalwarts of nationalism, has been pretty high; but since 1947 it has to a large extent been living on its capital. In fact in parts of India, by the ambition and cupidity of some of its members, it has created great disillusionment. Even within the ranks of the Congress there have been dissensions, when old Right Wingers have broken away in a genuine effort to revive the Congress ideals of Gandhi. The Party therefore hangs together largely on the powerful personality of Jawaharlal Nehru.

In the Socialist Party, like all social democratic movements, the Left Wing has split and has tried to develop a Left consolidation movement with the Communists for the purposes of the election. The official Socialist Party is contesting some 1,500 seats, and the official Communist Party is contesting 500. The Socialists are nationalist, and uniformly anti-Soviet and anti-American. Their programme is little different from that of the Congress Party and they would like to follow the pattern of the "Welfare State." They are completely opposed to any alliance with the Communists, which has made it easy for the Congress Party to come in (in Bombay for instance) on the split vote.

The Communist Party was at one time declared illegal in most states and forced underground. On a point of constitutional illegality, various courts of law found that it was illegal to detain persons indefinitely without trial. This was a triumph for the Communist Party and forced various states to withdraw the ban, and therefore to-day they have been able to contest 500 seats.

The fourth major group is the most dangerous one, for it is established on religious orthodoxy—it may be compared to the Catholic parties of France—but it is infinitely more powerful and reactionary. It seeks to resuscitate a Hindu fascism, which will reinstate all the old repressive distinctions of caste and creed that have, on paper at least, been abolished. This party has some following among the middle-classes in the cities and towns.

The parliamentary system followed in the elections was similar to that of Great Britain, and we have the amazing spectacle of a handful of intelligentsia who understand the system which was used by 175.5 million adults. It was, of course, an anachronism, and had Britain not left in a fanfare of friendship the system would probably have been revised. The fact is that the educated Indian knows no other. The difficulties of a secret ballot for an illiterate electorate have had to be overcome by means of a sign system whereby the party in question was identified—for instance, the Congress Party by two bulls in yoke; the Socialist Party by a tree; the Communist Party by a sickle and ears of corn—and so on.

The south has so far provided the greatest revelations. In Madras, for instance, three Ministers have been unseated, and the Congress majority will not hang on very strong threads. The people of Cochin, Travancore and Hyderabad have already returned a large number of



Voters receiving ballot forms

Communists as their representatives to the state parliaments and through to the House of the People. Two points are most interesting—one, that in the whole of India the percentage of literacy (90 per cent.) is highest in these states; secondly, that one of the candidates elected to the House of the People is still labelled as an absconder because there is a warrant out against him for his political beliefs. The greatest surprise has been the failure of the Socialists to make any substantial headway. Bombay is proving a Congress stronghold owing to the general split amongst the Left Wing parties, and the Socialists had hoped to secure victories there. The religious factional parties are being wiped out, which is a good sign that the people of India are realising their own political responsibilities, and moving away from the arid path of communalism. Whatever the results, the Congress Party will secure a good majority, but they will have no easy task in Parliament, for there will be a forceful opposition.

There is before the people of India a grave task, and there are those who wonder whether universal adult suffrage will be properly utilised where the majority of voters are illiterate, and who have no previous experience of what it all means. But the issue in India is so simple, so basic that it has no complications at all. There are no abstruse political ideas involved—the question is one of food. Why then, it may be argued, do the majority vote for Congress which has so far failed to solve their problems? Firstly, because they cannot believe that Mr. Nehru will be false to their interests; secondly, other party organisations have either not been strong enough or have had limited opportunities to impress their ideas substantially on the people.



## FROM ALL QUARTERS

### Flying Arks

The recent arrival in London of five baby elephants who had been flown from Siam has drawn attention to a little-publicised service of the B.O.A.C. During the last twelve months an astonishing variety of exotic livestock was carried on the freighter route between Singapore and London, via India and Pakistan. The great majority of the animals were monkeys (over 15,000) mainly destined, one is saddened to learn, for vivisection work in America. But other specimens, such as bear cubs, mice, leopards, civet cats and racehorses, were also taken care of. Tropical fish and birds which are trans-shipped from London to the Continent, were carried in large numbers. Mr. Leslie Mason, the B.O.A.C. Livestock Officer, has perfected arrangements for successfully carrying fish from Singapore to London, using special tanks and heating arrangements.

Although, on the whole, animals are good travellers, there are occasional consignments of monkeys who become difficult about food, but it has been found that a cup of sweet tea invariably coaxes them to eat a full meal. It has also been noticed that monkeys have acquired another British habit—they can be trained to form a queue and to take their turn in drinking. The different idiosyncrasies of such a variety of passengers have been carefully studied and all the staff who handle animal cargoes have been trained for this work.

### South Pacific Changes

By a recent agreement, two United States territories have been added to the area covered by the operations of the South Pacific Commission. These territories, which comprise the major portion of Micronesia, contain the 96 small islands in the Mariana, Caroline and Marshall Groups held under United Nations Trusteeship, and the island of Guam (southernmost of the Marianas) which was ceded to the United States from Spain in 1898. Altogether, these islands support a population of some 80,000. The agreement was signed at Noumea, New Caledonia by representatives of the six member-states of the Commission, Australia, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States. The new territories thus stand to benefit from the 40 or more projects in the three fields of health, economic development and social welfare currently under active consideration by the Commission.

Explaining the attitude of his Government in applying for permission to add these territories to the Commission's area, the United States Senior Commissioner, Dr. Felix M. Keesing, said: "The United States has for some time hoped that these territories would in due course be included in the Commission's scope, because many of

the economic and social problems of the two territories are common to those of the neighbouring areas to the South. Moreover, the inclusion of this additional zone of islands, despite the smallness of the land area involved, and the relatively slight addition to the collective population figure of the area as a whole, adds significantly to the basis of knowledge and experience upon which the United States can base its participation in the work of the Commission. By the same action the general benefits to be derived from the combined efforts of the governments through the Commission will be extended to all the peoples of Micronesia."

All the other members of the Commission welcomed the accession of the new territories. Speaking as the representative of the host government, M. Lassalle-Sere, Inspector-General of Overseas France and Senator of the French Establishment in Oceania, declared: "France desires to give all support, both materially and morally, to the Commission" As a result of the addition of these two territories, the area covered by the Commission now includes sixteen territories scattered over 13,000,000 square miles.

### Japanese Trading Practices

In spite of repeated efforts to establish some form of control over the pirating of foreign designs by Japanese manufacturers, it appears that once again complaints have been received by the Overseas Agency in London from British firms, pointing out that copyright designs are being stolen and that Japanese pottery bearing these designs is affecting sales of British products in the U.S.A. An official of the Japanese Ministry of Trade and Industry is reported to have said that it was very hard to draw a clear-cut legal line in such a case and that a solution of the problem would have to be sought "from a moral point of view." He also pointed out that Japanese makers were "prone to copy foreign work because they felt that this is not illegal so long as the particular products are not copyright in Japan or in the countries to which the exports are to be sent."

Before the war serious commercial difficulties were engendered by the Japanese practice of copying foreign designs and trademarks. During the Allied occupation, the Japanese Government was on several occasions directed to SCAP authorities to halt the infringement of Allied trademarks by Japanese manufacturers. In 1949, the Far Eastern Commission approved a decision calling for an effective system of trademarks and patents in Japan to ensure that goods manufactured in Japan were not marked in a way that suggested they were made in other countries.



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## BOOKS on the

**Population Growth in Malaya** by T. E. SMITH (*Royal Institute of International Affairs*, 15s.)

This excellent little book is by a member of the Malayan Civil Service, that body which at the moment is the dumb whipping-boy for discomfited soldiers and doctrinaire politicians. Mr. Smith wrote it during his tenure of a Commonwealth Fellowship, when he studied demography in the United States, where every go-getter is wedded to statistics and has a schedule for his best man. Three-quarters of the book give in a convenient form figures culled from census registration and migration statistics. With these figures Mr. Smith plays like a juggler with a galaxy of balls, till dazzled by his legerdemain one is almost blind to the hypothetical nature of some of the conclusions. Is it really true, for example, that the low fertility rate of the women of Kedah, Perlis and Kelantan is due to a different racial strain from the philoprogenitive Javanese? Or is the low figure in the census returns due to their illiteracy and omission of children who die in infancy? Mr. Smith himself is never blind to the inadequacy of some of his evidence; and his main conclusions as to the probable rate of increase among Malays, Chinese and Indians should be of the greatest value to those who will have to guide the fortunes of the Peninsula.

The general reader is likely to find the chapters on "Economic Activities" and "Prospects" the most digestible. For the fact that the value of rubber and tin exported from the Federation of Malaya (that is, excluding the *entrepot* Singapore) was for 1948 more than £100 million does not mean that the future of this small country with an expanding population need cause no anxiety. In the first place, with all its eggs in two baskets, "Malaya has a big investment in the prosperity of the rest of the world." Even now in lean years it could not feed itself. And there is no guarantee that science can so mend matters that Malaya's production of foodstuffs will increase as fast as its population. The report of the department of agriculture on its efforts to increase the rice yield is pretty dismal (p.101), and affords no hope that Malaya will not have to continue to import more than half this staple food. Mr. Smith shows indirectly that more urgent than the administration of political nostrums are such economic measures as the promotion of fruit farming and poultry farming, stock-rearing and fishing. And this will take time and money, requiring a widespread knowledge of modern techniques.

To reduce fertility rates Mr. Smith looks to industrial development with the consequent growth of an urban population that neither needs large families to plough the fields, nor is prepared to sacrifice its higher standard of living to a quiverful of children. But his analysis shows



# FAR EAST

that even the Chinese have no training for large-scale manufactures nor has Malaya an adequately developed money market. "In a country where so often the poor invest their savings in gold for personal adornment, or as an insurance against hard times, and the wealthy devote their resources to usury, to the purchase of real property, or to wholesale trade, industry will fail to get the support that it needs." So "it is clear that foreign investors must continue to play an important part in development by establishing new industries and providing representatives to operate and manage them." As a serving official Mr. Smith has had to avoid politics, or he might have asked how and where outside the Commonwealth an independent Malaya could expect to get capital. It is a problem that would worry Dato Onn were he not intoxicated by his dream of a land where, in Mr. Smith's words, there will be "a fusion of the political, social and economic interests" of Malays, Chinese and Indians. How that consummation is to be attained for races too divided by religion, social customs and the colour bar even to intermarry, Mr. Smith wisely refrains from guessing. With the withdrawal of the British, Peking would solve the problem ruthlessly and silence Dato Onn and Dato Tan Cheng Lock for ever. The Malay Rulers, those thoughtful statesmen so little appreciated by the Labour Party (and the ambitious Dato Onn) are well aware of this, and of the continued need for British protection and British capital. But just as his profession precludes Mr. Smith from open discussion of politics, so does their constitutional position preclude the Rulers. In any case, it would be difficult for a ruler to object publicly to independence for his people. But the facts so convincingly set forth in this book should make all but Malaya's fanatics pause before they give any irrevocable push to the juggernaut wheels of change.

R. O. WINSTEDT

**Cry Korea** by REGINALD THOMPSON (Macdonald, 16s.)

This is a book that has been hastily written as though the author had to pour out his story to relieve his own pent-up emotions. But Reginald Thompson is an old hand as a war reporter, and from the Balkans to Paraguay never before has he seen a war like this. The reader will soon find why this is so.

**Cry Korea** is amply illustrated with excellent photographs, but the addition of a sketch-map would have made it easier to follow the events. The pathetic picture opposite page 192 of the Korean mother dead in the ditch and two crying, desolate infants huddled on her lifeless arms capture in a flash the shock of war to these back-



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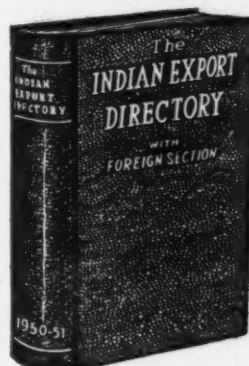
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— SAYAJIGANJ BARODA

ward peasants. The solitary horse, thin and hungry, photographed meandering in a burning village symbolises the tragedy of the impact of a war from which neither man nor beast escapes.

Reginald Thompson gives throughout the impression that he does not think highly of the logistics of this campaign. He criticises the waste of firing power and the hopelessness of main-road tactics in certain conditions. He is a fierce critic of UN Intelligence under MacArthur. There is a dramatic account of the entry into Seoul. The main hall of the National Capital is bedecked for MacArthur and Syngman Rhee. "General MacArthur, looking curiously human, old and even pitiable without his hat, came slowly down the stairway leading a small brown-faced, grey-suited figure by the upper arm, as a headmaster might lead a pupil." . . . The "pupil" was Syngman Rhee whom Thompson calls "another awkward bedfellow of democracy."

The writer makes a plea for urgent thought and attention to be paid to the political aspects of the war. To liberate a country that country must be able to stand on its own feet after liberation. Thompson questions whether Korea will be able to do this. He sees the need for a better diplomatic approach together with a clarification of the motives and aims of the United Nations.

*Cry Korea* is certainly redolent with dramatic and descriptive writing, and behind it all is the author's obvious sincerity. Reginald Thompson has had a wide experience of modern warfare and his disturbing criticisms of the Korean war cannot therefore be lightly put aside. The book deserves wide circulation.

HAROLD DAVIES

**Islam—Belief and Practice** by A. S. TRITTON (*Hutchinson's University Library*, 7s. 6d.)

For a long time Islam has been regarded as a mixture of the teachings of the Old and New Testaments adroitly adapted to the needs and use of Arab nomadic tribes and their primitive life, though this assumption could not explain how Moslem culture developed so richly and influenced modern science so deeply. It is only during the last sixty years that, thanks to the research work of English, French and German students of Middle Eastern affairs, an entirely new picture of Islam has been drawn, a picture that shows Islam in an entirely new light as a philosophy based on experience. In Professor Tritton's book the religious side of this highly practical philosophy and its application to daily life are clearly expounded. Moslem law, the various sects and mystical efflorescences are dealt with, and the short excursions into political events connected with Islam and its history will serve as a more than useful introduction to this subject.

JOSEPH KALMER

**Main Fleet to Singapore** by CAPTAIN RUSSELL GRENFELL, R.N. (*Faber and Faber*, 18s.)

Captain Russell Grenfell's *Main Fleet to Singapore* is a well-documented closely-reasoned account of the political and strategic events leading up to the sinking of the *Repulse* and *Prince of Wales* off Malaya, and of the world-wide consequences of that major disaster.

The author introduces his main story with two excellent chapters on the rise of Westernised Japan after the Meiji Restoration. The remarkable story of Japan's metamorphosis from medieval feudalism to highly-organised industrialisation and military strength, and of the stunning effect on Western minds of her naval victory in the Russo-Japanese war is admirably told. The growing threat in the East induced the formulation of Britain's policy to build an impregnable naval base at Singapore and, in the event of trouble, to rush a fleet of warships there within seventy days. Australia and New Zealand based their own defensive arrangements on the assumption that this could in fact be done. The author shows that, apart from the naval base to be erected at its southern extremity, "no one, then or later, seems to have thought of the Malayan Peninsula as a territory worth protecting on its own account"; and, indeed, no arrangements were in fact made for the defence of the mainland until the very last moment.

Captain Grenfell then describes in detail the course of events following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour leading up to the destruction of the much emasculated "main fleet" almost immediately after it had, with considerable publicity, arrived at Singapore. He disposes of the suggestions, widely held at the time, that the loss of Malaya could be laid at the door of the commanding officers on the spot who, in fact, fought a valiant battle without the supplies, particularly of aircraft, for which they had long agitated; or that the loss of the *Repulse* and the *Prince of Wales* necessarily presaged the supremacy of aircraft over battleships. In dealing with the great battle of Midway he propounds some interesting theories on sea-air warfare.

Captain Grenfell doesn't pull his punches and ardent admirers of Mr. Churchill will find much to challenge in his book: perhaps his axe is ground a little too fine and his attitude somewhat over-parochial. The book is well illustrated and two photographs in particular, of the *Prince of Wales* sinking and of Singapore burning are exceptionally good.

J.M.W.

**The British Commonwealth Since 1815** (Volume II) by C. H. CURREY (*Angus and Robertson*, 17s. 6d.)

Hardly a week goes by without news of some important development or pending development in one or another of the British colonies moving towards self-government, a phenomenon which must be seen to be no

less remarkable than the actual achievement of independence of the Asian dominions. For in the 45 administrative units that make up the colonies, with their 68 million inhabitants, we find races which are indisputably more backward than the peoples of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, including some whose main contribution to history has been their role as suppliers of raw material for the slave trade of a bygone age. Times have mercifully changed and a new attitude towards colonial peoples has been responsible for forward steps which must seem a headlong rush to those who recall India's slow movement over more than 50 years to management of her own affairs.

Thus the intelligent reader must feel the imperative need for just such a volume as this to give him the background picture of what has been happening in territories many of us have tended to forget in the past. The author recognises that the volume is apt to become outdated almost before publication by new systems of administration at Kingston and Khartoum. He has had to include an appendix bringing the picture up to date as far as he was able. He has made as full and careful a study of the less well known colonies as he could and he has not disdained to pay a handsome tribute to official information services of which he has made excellent use.

One is particularly impressed with the strides forward in what was once called Darkest Africa where the Colonial Office is trying to follow a policy such as was advocated by Mary Kingsley. The interests of the indigenous races are being given first place, even where there is a clash with the interests of immigrants and entrepreneurs from Europe and Asia. "The running of a tropical colony is, of all tests, the most searching as to the development of the nation that attempts it. To see helpless people and not oppress them, to see great wealth and not confiscate it, to have absolute power and not abuse it, to raise the natives instead of sinking yourself, these are the supreme trial of a nation's spirit." If these tests be justly applied to British policy in the colonial territories, Dr. Currey, who as an Australian professor of history can see things in a fairly objective manner, feels that the resulting judgement may be awaited with some confidence by the citizens of the Commonwealth.

FARRUKHSIYAR

*Eastern Epic Vol. I* by COMPTON MACKENZIE (Chatto & Windus, 30s.)

Before World War I, the Indian Army was 155,000 strong; by the end of the war (November 18) it numbered 573,000. On the eve of World War II (July 1, 1939) it numbered 183,000, commanded by 2,978 British and 528 Indian officers; on July 1, 1945—46 days before VJ Day—it numbered over 2,250,000 commanded by 37,187 British and 13,355 Indian officers. They were all volunteers except such British officers as were liable to compulsory service. The largest voluntary army "since history began

to be written," says Compton Mackenzie and he adds that during the Second World War, men of the Indian Army fought in North Africa from Sidi Barrani and El Alamein to Tunis, in Eritrea, Abyssinia and Somaliland, in Syria and Iraq, in Burma, Assam and Arakan, in Malaya, Java and Hong Kong, in Italy and Greece; they stood on guard along the North-West Frontier, in Ceylon, in Egypt, Persia, Palestine, and Cyprus; they were among the forces which occupied Japan. That is a record which somewhere in Valhalla must be hailed with ancestral pride by Beatson, Sam Browne, Brownlow, Coke, Cureton, Fane, Gardner, Hodson, Mayne, Meade, Murray, Outram, Probyn, Rattray, Roberts, Skinner, Watson, Wellesley and the rest of those warriors whose names are still remembered today in the messes of the Indian and Pakistan armies. The Indian Army, as it developed in the two World Wars, was more than a fine fighting machine, it was the expression of a comradeship-in-arms which perhaps has no parallel in history.

As the East India Company's authority in India grew, its military forces developed from trading station guards into presidency armies. From their amalgamation in 1748 under one Commander-in-Chief, may be said to have come the real foundations of that Army, which, in 1947 lost its British element and was divided between India and Pakistan.

In this first volume, covering the period from September 1930 to March 1943 of World War II, Mackenzie necessarily has to deal with disaster more than with triumph: the retreat to Dunkirk, the setbacks in the African desert after promising advances, the tragedies of Hong Kong, Singapore and Burma. Against those events though, have to be set the important successes in the Syrian campaign and the never-to-be-forgotten victories which drove the Italians out of Abyssinia and Eritrea. In Syria, the heroic defence of Mezzeh, near Damascus, by the 5th Indian Brigade, which included the 3/1st Punjab Regiment, Outrams (4th Rajputana) Rifles, the Bombay Sappers and Miners, the 1st Field Regiment (Royal Artillery) and the 1st Royal Fusiliers, was, in itself, a comparatively small affair. Indeed, it seems to have escaped the notice of that able historian Mr. Winston Churchill, who attributes the fall of Damascus to Australian troops but does not mention Mezzeh House or General Slim's brilliant thrust to Aleppo.

To his connected narrative of the Japanese invasion in Burma and the consequent retreat under Alexander into India, the author adds an excellent survey of the Burma campaign. Linking it up with the stories of Hong Kong, Borneo, Malaya and Burma, he vehemently defends the men on the spot who were, in his opinion, sacrificed to economy and unreadiness at home. In discharging obligations as an independent observer, Compton Mackenzie is not forgetful of the duties of the forceful critic.

EDWIN HAWARD



## REVIEW OF REVIEWS

**B**Y far the most important at present, "The Communist Problem in East Asia," is examined in *Pacific Affairs* (Vol. XXIV, No. 3) by two experienced hands: M. N. Roy, one-time ace of the Communist International and now an opponent of Stalinism, and W. Macmahon Ball, former Commonwealth Representative at SCAP, Tokyo, and now a professor of Political Science in the University of Melbourne. To Mr. Roy, "Communism in Asia, essentially, is nationalism painted red. It succeeds not only by inciting to revolt against poverty and degradation of the masses, but also by appealing to the xenophobia and other prejudices of the educated middle class. As a matter of fact, Communism in Asia draws its strength more from the latter source than from the revolt of the masses against unbearable economic conditions." Prof. Macmahon Ball's views are, in part at least, more familiar than those of Mr. Roy. He maintains that three methods are available to the West in the contest with the Soviet Union and Communism—military, economic and psychological. His reasoning is more in the domain of *Realpolitik* but it is difficult to see how we could convince East Asians "that their true interests are identical with Western interests, not with the interests of the Soviet Union; that they can be allies of the West, but only satellites of the Soviet; that they can be free men if they reject Communism, but only slaves if they accept it." This is the American line of psychological approach, but, as Prof. Macmahon Ball rightly observes, "so long as the United States give support to Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa and to Bao Dai in Indo-China, it is hardly thinkable that India could form a united front with the West." He comes to the same conclusions as Mr. Roy, namely that if East Asia is to be saved from coming under the influence or control of the Soviet Union, it will not be by Westerners, but by East Asians. The best hope for their future lies in the likelihood that they will resist domination by the Soviet Union with the same firm resolve that they have shown in winning freedom from domination by the West."

*Asia* (December 1951) presents its readers with articles on "Contemporary Art in India," by A. S.

Raman, and "Modern Painting in Indonesia." Perhaps the most interesting contribution to this issue is the survey "The Influence of Political Change on the Buddhist Priesthood in Burma," by Mr. Cecil Hobbs, one of the Library of Congress Librarians. Buddhism has become closely associated with nationalism and politics, and the monks will oppose Western educational methods because they fear that education which the clergy does not control, will weaken the Buddhist faith of the people. Another vested interest which has to be overcome!

I wonder how many Western students of Indian affairs know of *The Radical Humanist* edited by Mr. M. N. Roy, a Calcutta paper concerned with the fundamental problems of India. In the last issue to hand, that of December 9, Swami Agehananda Bharati has some interesting things to say about the Indus Valley Culture of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa. "Here is a civilization that must be most annoying to the orthodox because it is so much older and so much more modern than the Vedic-Aryan civilization, which was crudest nomadery in its beginnings, when compared with the Indus Culture. . . . The links of those grand cultures with Babel, Assur, Sumer, and even Egypt, are not yet traced, but the conjecture bears much probability. . . . Those people seem to have been very un-Hindu in their tastes and predilections. . . . no places of worship—but swimming pools instead of them."

Information on Ladakh is contained in *Geopolitik* (Heidelberg, November 1951, in German). The trek of 300 Kazakh refugees from Sinkiang shows the Indians that their northernmost outpost can be reached from Russian and Chinese Central Asia. Ladakh's capital, Leh, has become one of the strategically important points on the map.

JOHN KENNEDY.

## Letters to the Editor

SIR,—As a subscriber to your excellent journal I admire the fair treatment of controversial questions as well as the erudition of your contributors. I was, therefore, grieved to read Mr. John Kennedy's remarks on my book, *Asien, Hoffnung einer neuen Welt*, in your November issue and should like to take this opportunity of correcting some of his inaccuracies.

First of all, I think it irrelevant whether an argument comes from a German or a Chinese, but I am unable to give political advice in "true German fashion" because I am an Austrian, born in Vienna, living in Spain and bearing a rather well-known Czech name. My first books were written in French and edited by Payot and others in Paris.

But even if Mr. Kennedy considers me a typical German he has no reason at all to bring in "the Aryan swindle of Hitlerite Germany" because I never stated that the Hawaiians or Tahitians are Malays. What I did say

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**AT YOUR SERVICE IN INDIA AS WELL AS ABROAD**

(on p.218 of my book) is that the Malays created states in Polynesia which quite recently were independent from the white powers. This is a long established fact, easily checked in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. And as to the Koreans, the same *Encyclopædia Britannica* says that they are "closely related to the other Turanian people of Northern Asia." So what else are they, if not a mixture of Aryan-Caucasian races with Mongolian-Polynesian types? And why "mongrels," if Mr. Kennedy abhors race-investigations?

Yours, etc.,

ANTON ZISCHKA.

Mallorca.

John Kennedy writes: *I recommend to Mr. Zischka the perusal of the ethnological works of Breysig and Baron Eickstedt. He would find there, as also in Huxley's "We Europeans," that "Aryan" means a linguistic and not a racial group. As early as 1870 Ernest Renan drew attention to the political dangers involved in the improper use of this linguistic term by the Germans, and though some American contributors to the "Encyclopædia Britannica" fell for it, the term, if applied to race, remains what I called it: "the Aryan swindle of Hitlerite Germany." The rulers of the island-kingdoms of Tonga, Hawaii and Tahiti in pre-colonial times were not Malays but Polynesians. As for the Tungusic-Mongolian Koreans it is not I who degrade them to "mongrels" but Mr. Zischka who calls them "a mixture of Aryan-Caucasian races with Mongolian-Polynesian types" though if they are "closely related to the other Turanian people of Northern Asia," it is difficult to see how they could be classified as even part-Aryan.*

Mr. Malcolm MacDonald

DEAR SIR,—By the time this letter appears in print it may be too late, but none the less I feel it incumbent on me to enter a strong protest against the suggestion that the present Commissioner-General in South-East Asia, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, be replaced by a top ranking military officer. Few Britons have made the impression on the Asian population that Mr. MacDonald has made. People of all classes will speak of his sincere efforts to promote better relations between different sections of the population. His method of dealing with the terrorists may not have sounded effective to armchair critics, but it has made a large section of the Chinese in Malaya firm friends of the British connection. They have become real Malaysians and have supported the United Malaya Party whereas before they looked to China for inspiration. From many of their houses you will even find that the picture of Sun Yat Sen has given place to that of Dato Onn. No Sir, I feel Mr. MacDonald should be allowed to continue the very fine job that he has been doing among us.

Taiping, Malaya

ONG WAN CHAN

### Trading Overseas

DEAR SIR,—I have just returned from a long tour of the Far East—going as far as Hong Kong—and I feel that exporters in this country who are thinking of trading with many overseas markets might well make use of some of the old agencies of repute which have considerable experience of the market. I have seen far too much of the difficulties which arise when efforts are made to start agencies by concerns which have little knowledge of the East, at a time when conditions there call for walking warily even on the part of those who are expert in the business.

London, E.C.3

J. F. PETERSON

### Political Asylum

DEAR SIR,—The apologists of the new China might learn something from the display of intolerance given by a Cultural Mission which visited India lately. Members of the Mission declined to visit Kashmir because of the sanctuary given to a few hundred Kazakh refugees who had crossed from Tibet. Apart from the discourtesy to their hosts, the Indian Government, who had agreed to the admission of the refugees, it is well known that every independent country has the right to offer asylum to political refugees. It is not for China's Government to deny this right to free India, much less for a group of men whose business was "cultural and not political."

Calcutta

R. K. MUKERJI

### Pondicherry

DEAR SIR,—Since when has France agreed to the cession of Pondicherry to India, as alleged by E. R. Yarham in your November issue, just received by me? I live in Pondicherry and have so far not heard anything about the proposed transfer of my home town to an administration that has yet to win the confidence of its own Christian minority.

Pondicherry

R. J. MARIADOSS

(Editor's Note: *We plead guilty to an error. The French Settlement which opted for inclusion in India and was actually transferred was Chandernagore. In the remaining settlements arrangements for holding plebiscites have yet to be completed.*)

### Japanese Competition

DEAR SIR,—There has been a great deal of agitation in Britain and the U.S.A. over the appearance in world markets of Japanese goods at rates which are highly competitive. I maintain that such low cost goods ought to be regarded as a welcome reminder of the need for greater efficiency in our industries, particularly in the matter of labour costs due, not to labour being given a fair wage, but to the restrictive practices of workers which inflate the wagebills of many firms needlessly. I do not want to see unemployment here. But I do feel that a lot of labour could be diverted to other fields where it is wanted just as badly.

London, E.C.3

RALPH STEPHENSON

## THE SCENE IN NEPAL

By Colonel R. G. Leonard

THE second Cabinet of Nepal, formed by the Indian-sponsored Nepalese Congress Party after the King's dismissal of the last of the Rana Prime Ministers, has been increased from ten Ministers to fourteen, a form of reward not unknown in the East. Contrary to expectations the Rana element has not been entirely eliminated but its proportion has been brought down drastically from 50 per cent. to a mere two representatives. There have been other sweeping changes as only three of the original members have been kept in the new Cabinet. These are General Subarna Shamsher, Bhadrakali Misra and Ganeshman Newar. Subarna retains his folio of Finance which is to the advantage of all, as this "C" class grandson of the Maharajah of 1929-32 is a man of ability well above the Nepalese average; Bhadrakali having proved his efficiency continues as Minister for Communications; the Newar leaves Commerce & Industry, where he was possibly suited to deal with his Communist friends in the industrial areas of the south-eastern plains, for Agriculture (now separated from Food), an appointment which may well embarrass him as the whole hills are agricultural, and he has openly stated his dislike of the hillmen.

Shortly after being given the Ministry of Defence in the first Cabinet, Baber Shamsher, at the age of 64, retired on the grounds of health and was replaced by General Kaiser who, under the old regime, would have succeeded him as Prime Minister and who continues in the office which he is undoubtedly more suited to fill than anyone else. The only other representative of the Ranas in the Cabinet is General Sarada Shamsher, son of the late Maharajah and Prime Minister, who will undoubtedly cope with Education as well as he has coped with several more difficult offices in the past.

The new Prime Minister is M. P. Koirala, the leader of the Nepalese Congress Party, who now enters the Cabinet for the first time—a Cabinet no longer including his brother, B. P. Koirala.

Of the remaining eight Ministers six are Congress nominees. S. P. Upadhyaya, a Brahman, Home; Mahabir Shamsher, an illegitimate grandson of Maharajah Bhim, who became a Calcutta financier and long provided funds for the Congress Party and who chose to resign his honorary rank twelve years after his deportation, has been rewarded with Forests—a subject he may find rather strange; M. Bikham Shah, a Thākuri and believed to be a distant relation of the King, replaces Ganeshman Newar in Commerce and Industry; Dharmaratna takes over Food; Kharkamansing has the new folio of Parliamentary Secretary, and Bhagwatising the new one of Justice.

The last two Ministers are the "popular" ones and take over the now separated folios of Health and Local Self-Government. They are both ex-Viceroy Commissioned Officers of the old British Indian Army. Subadar-Major and Honorary Captain Narbahadur Gurung, late 4th Prince of Wales Own Gurkha Rifles, has been given Health, whilst Jemadar Naradmani Rai, late 7th Gurkha Rifles, will find his hands full in his appointment for local self-Government as he himself is an Easterner from those areas in which somewhat strange views have been expressed and practised on this subject during the last few troubled months.

In a leader published on December 28, *The Times* stated that the Government of India has been mainly responsible for the recent political changes in Nepal. It then expressed the opinion that Delhi's main danger was the growing anti-Indian feeling of the country under the Ranas. The fact is that the Rana family has as much Rajput blood in its veins as any Nepalese clan, and very considerably more than any Gurkha tribe. It has also close ties by marriage with many of the old Indian royal houses.

*The Times* then goes on to say: "The purpose of Indian policy has been to keep Nepal within the Indian orbit and to restore the old close ties between Delhi and Katmandu that existed for many generations until the British after the Gurkha wars at the beginning of the last century, began to treat Nepal as if it had no real connection with India." It would be interesting to know what ties existed and also what the word "India" meant at that time.

Up to the middle of the eighteenth century Nepal had been a country of a hundred or so petty principalities and states no bigger than an English county with no common policy and, in fact, more often fighting each other than forming any alliance. King Prithi Narain then emerged to amalgamate the whole country and to found the present Royal family. His successors carried on his principles and overran Sikkim and Bhutan to the east to find little of value, Tibet to the north to be repulsed by a Chinese army, and the Indian territory to the west, which they treated somewhat ruthlessly, until they were held on the borders of Kashmir by the Sikhs. It was only then that they turned south to the softer lands of the plains and continued their aggression to the point that the East India Company declared war.

Whether the violent political moves recently made in Nepal were wise or not remains to be seen. They could not have happened without the eager assistance of India, and India must bear the responsibility. Indian Civil Service advisers to the King are unlikely to be popular with Congress Ministers now firmly in power and will still be looked upon by the vast majority of the population as foreigners interfering in a way that never occurred before.

The Congress Party having now got unrestricted power in its hands can no longer blame the Ranas for failure to achieve its aims. So far little in the way of real reforms have been undertaken. In place of much-needed motor roads into the interior, landing grounds are being constructed on the Indian border at existing railheads. Government servants of the age of 60 and over have been discharged with a bonus of two months' pay and no pension. Cabinet Ministers are now flying a national flag on their cars instead of the Congress emblem. Nothing very progressive to report and the new Minister of Justice comes to office with gaols full of prisoners hunger-striking to bring to notice the fact that they have been imprisoned for half a year without trial.

In the heterogeneous assembly now replacing the Rana family the Koirala brothers alone have sufficient local backing to achieve success and to prevent further chaos which would bring about the collapse of the only Hindu Kingdom in the world. Can they do it and are they prepared to make the necessary personal sacrifices?



## "Old Ticker"

By H. G. Sass

CAPTAIN BLAKER was a genius as an inventor of refreshing drinks, whose triumphant success was due solely to his exhaustive knowledge of whisky. But he was also very good at something else—Indian languages and dialects, which he had made his hobby. From Lahore to Madras, and from Bombay to Darjeeling, his ear never missed a local idiom, nor his palate anything potable. One day he met a man who seemed to know even more than he about India and its languages, though he had no idea about whisky, being addicted to beer. Of course, he was a German. He was nicknamed "Old Ticker," partly because he was extremely punctual, but mainly because his ill-fitting dentures used to make a ticking sound when he spoke. In the course of the years, the paths of the two men frequently crossed, and though "Old Ticker" was a pacifist, they became firm friends.

The German's Fatherland had in the meantime attained the peak of its enthusiasm for the goose-step and when, shortly before the first shots were fired in Poland, "Old Ticker" went home on a visit, he was prevented from returning to India. Being a pacifist, he was eventually "concentrated" behind barbed wire with others of the same mind. It was not until the panzers were rumbling along the roads of North Africa, and India was beginning to show some anti-British sentiment, that "Old Ticker" was taken to Berlin. Blaker, of course, knew nothing about this, being at that time engaged in monitoring Nazi broadcasts in Calcutta. Then one day he heard a Nazi announcer speaking in a dialect which was entirely unfamiliar to him. But he instantly recognised the announcer's voice, and particularly the ticking sound that was part of it. He was annoyed with himself for being ignorant of that dialect, which was thenceforth used in

regular daily broadcasts; but his annoyance changed to puzzlement when he discovered that no one else in the whole of India understood these broadcasts. The British monitoring service was confronted with a riddle which was never solved—at least not during the war.

Shortly after the war, Colonel Blaker was posted to the Allied Control Commission in Germany, and became Town Commandant in Werts. The German burgomaster knew what was proper, and caused his interpreter to ring up and enquire when he might have the honour of paying his respects to Herr Kommandant. Blaker took the receiver from his side and the message was repeated to him.

"What the devil! . . ." he bawled into the mouth-piece. "I say, you—stay where you are, do you understand? I'll be round at the Rathaus in ten minutes."

The burgomaster was puzzled, but also somewhat scared, when this was interpreted to him. However, very soon the door of his room burst open, and within the next few minutes the Herr Burgomaster was obliged to revise his opinion of the proverbial British reserve. For his interpreter and the Colonel were thumping each other on the shoulder and digging each other in the ribs.

A few days later the British Information Service received the following note from Colonel Blaker with reference to the wartime riddle of the Indian broadcast which no one in India understood:

"The German philologist known in India as 'Old Ticker' had been released from a concentration camp, and ordered to broadcast the news in the appropriate dialect to a certain region of India. Under the conditions prevailing at the time, it would have been suicidal for him to refuse. On the other hand, being a confirmed pacifist, he would not aid a belligerent Power, and so he invented a dialect which sounded very much like Urdu, but wasn't—the queer dialect on which I repeatedly reported from Calcutta after March 1942."

## CONTEMPORARY ART IN INDIA

By A. S. Raman (New Delhi)

ANATOLE FRANCE observes: "There is no more objective criticism than there is an objective art."

Armed with this dictum, I would like to present a cross-section of contemporary Indian art.

At first sight, one is apt to find echoes of Paris in the works of the artists represented here. But as one goes deeper, one realises where East and West meet and where they do not. What these artists are trying to do is to

integrate recent developments in the art world into the traditions of their own country.

It is true that the contemporary artist in India, as in the rest of the world, has abandoned classical grace in favour of individual vigour. In consequence, he is called a "modernist." Giotto, for instance, was a modernist in his time and Manet in his. It is the way of the world to dismiss an artist as modernist—which is in fact only a



K. K. Hebbar. "The Pandits"

euphemism for crank or charlatan—whenever he shows his intense awareness of new visions, which he asserts in a language, unfamiliar but authentic.

Of the influences that dominate the scene of contemporary Indian painting three are most important: (1) Bengal School (2) Ecole de Paris and (3) Folk Art.

#### BENGAL SCHOOL

The Bengal School does not represent any region or medium in particular, since it has found its adherents in all parts of the country, and they in turn have adopted various media including fresco, tempera, wash and oils. At the turn of the century, a group of artists, under the inspiration of Dr. Abanindranath Tagore and E. B. Havell, sponsored in Calcutta a school of neo-academicism with a view to reviving, as a spirited reaction against western mannerisms, the vision and technique of the great Indian masterpieces of the past.

The School's present-day exponents mostly cling to the patterns of the pioneers. There are, however, among them a few competent artists, like Binod Bihari Mukherjee, Ranee Chanda, B. N. Jijja, B. C. Gue and D. Badri, who really know what they are doing and why they are doing it. The works of these artists are distinguished by a suavity and serenity that is remarkable.

The defects of the School are mainly two—first, its emphasis on the past rather than on the continuity and vitality of tradition and secondly, its pre-occupation with the prettiness of the female figure—even its male figures appear effeminate. "The movement," to quote Coomars-

aswamy, "is comparable in some respects to that of the pre-Raphaelites."

#### ECOLE DE PARIS

The real renaissance in Indian painting began with Amrita Sher Gil. She discovered a plastic synthesis between East and West, which remained incomprehensible to her contemporaries. In 1940, a year before her death, she wrote: "I am starving for appreciation, literally famished. My work is understood and liked less and less, as time goes on." We could not understand her because she rejected the Bengal School. She rejected the Bengal School because it was inadequate for her purpose. And what was her purpose? To capture the warmth of India she saw around her. Her sense of urgency thus demanded a virile idiom. The post-Impressionists, who had derived their inspiration from primitive art, naturally beckoned to her.

She was the first to integrate the Ecole de Paris into the heritage of her country, though Gaganendranath Tagore, earlier, had carried on inconsequential experiments which were vaguely impressionistic and cubistic in their flavour. If the Byzantine artists mysticised the Greco-Roman idiom and the Florentines materialised the Byzantine idiom, Amrita Sher Gil romanticised the Parisian idiom. Her emotive elongations and stark simplifications were certainly learnt from Gauguin and Modigliani. But the decorative planes of colour, the rhythmic balance and, above all, the very warmth and humanity that strike one most in a Sher Gil are as close to the heart of India as were the Basohli and Kangra miniatures.

Today there are many artists who, like Amrita Sher Gil, have set themselves the task of interpreting a living nation in a living language. Their preference is unashamedly for modern mannerisms. But their inspiration is distinctly Indian. Among them Sailoz Mookherjee and George Keyt are outstanding. In their appeal, these two artists are as different as Matisse and Picasso, who, after India, have influenced them most.

Sailoz Mookherjee, at 43, enjoys the well-deserved reputation of being one of India's most mature painters. This maturity is the result of a series of experiments based on a remarkable mastery over technique and a profound sense of tradition.

What has Keyt learnt from Picasso? Four lessons—that an artist must be a master of his technique before he experiments; that he belongs as much to his time as to his country that he must not repeat himself; and that he must have firm faith in what he is doing.

Keyt, incidentally, is Ceylonese by birth. India has the same claims on him, as France has on Picasso.

Other modernists of international significance are: K. K. Hebbar, Shiavax Chavda, N. S. Bendre, Gopal Ghose, K. C. S. Paniker, Ramkinker, Prodosh Das Gupta and Dhanraj Bhagat, to name a few. The last three are essentially sculptors and most provocative ones—direct, dynamic and daring. While the visual language in which these artists choose to express themselves is inevitably international, the India that they create is the India we know.

#### FOLK ART

Jamini Roy's return to the language of folk art has resulted in a countrywide revival of interest in the vision and technique of the simple unsophisticated village craftsman whose toys and dolls, scrolls and tapestries have acquired a new significance today. Like most of his great contemporaries, Jamini Roy began in the grand manner of the Bengal School but, unlike them, did not stay there. He went on experimenting with new motifs and mannerisms, Eastern as well as Western. Today he is happy that he has at last found a form of expression appropriate to his audience—children.

Another artist who addresses herself to children is Sheila Auden, our greatest woman artist since Amrita Sher Gil. Her competently executed compositions have a directness and naivete that is arresting. She is now working, I am told, on a picture mythology for children, based on Bengal folk art.



Amrita Sher Gil. "Resting"



Ramkinker. "The Poet"

Among other "neo-primitives" P. L. Narasimhamurti and K. Sreenivasulu of Madras deserve mention. Their nostalgia for the rich robust Andhra folk art forms has inspired some of their finest works.

In addition, there are experimentalists all over the country exploring new paths. They have, of course, tremendous enthusiasm for the crisp idioms evolved in Paris, but unlike their Parisian contemporaries, they believe that an artist's function is not confusion (which, in fact, French painting since post-Impressionism has been) but creation and communication—a belief which they have inherited from their forefathers. In other words they seek to be modern without being Existentialist. The milieu one meets with in their works is thoroughly Indian.

There are many handicaps under which the artist in India works. Of them the most serious are: the absence of a truly national museum and gallery; the lack of adequate private patronage; badly dated art schools, and, the worst of all, the general atmosphere of complacency, chauvinism and charlatanism.

We regret that owing to shortage of space the continuation of "Agricultural Development in Punjab" has been held over until our March issue



# THE CRUCIAL ROLE OF LI MI

By Andrew Roth

**H**ISTORIANS have laughed about the quaint 19th century Burmese idea that their country was the centre of the world. But, strange as it may seem, the fate of the world may now hinge on the future of some 9,000 men in the almost inaccessible mountainous jungles of the Shan States of North-East Burma. These are the Kuomintang Chinese guerillas of Lt.-Gen. Li Mi which have twice raided Communist China.

The charges of Mr. Vyshinsky, the Soviet Foreign Minister, at the UN General Assembly were considered as a patently ridiculous exaggeration by many people. "The American Command," he asserted on January 3, "is busy transferring Kuomintang troops from Formosa to Siam and Western Burma. It is busy preparing large-scale operations on the borders of the Chinese People's Republic." The figure he used—70,000 Kuomintang troops—was an obvious exaggeration, presumably to focus the full light of international attention on American links with the Kuomintang guerillas based in North-East Burma.

Mr. Vyshinsky's facts, if not his figures, received confirmation from an unusual source. The South-Asian correspondent of the *Observer*, Rawle Knox, cabled on January 19 from Rangoon that "one of Chiang Kai-shek's battalions from Formosa has recently reinforced Kuomintang General Li Mi's 93rd Division in Burma, according to indisputable authorities"—apparently meaning the British Embassy in Rangoon. Mr. Knox explained that the battalion had entered Burma from Siam a platoon at a time. "There is indisputable evidence," he insisted, "that Americans are helping the 93rd Division. Two Americans accompanied it in its ignominious offensive last autumn, and when retreat followed, a Thai police helicopter was sent to evacuate them from Mongnyen. It crashed and was burned by its crew; the two Americans walked out into Thailand.

"Over Kengtung town (in Burma's Shan states) Constellations are frequently seen flying at about 10,000 feet (this would be necessary since the surrounding hills are about 7,000-8,000 feet). Misdirected parachute drops have been found, which include American small arms manufactured since the war. Surrendered Kuomintang men say they have been helped into Burma by an American organisation in Bangkok. . . . There is quite sufficient evidence to show that an independent American agency"—presumably the Central Intelligence Agency—"is helping Kuomintang troops and material through

Thailand to Burma, a manoeuvre for which, in present Asian circumstances, foolhardy is a temperate word.

Rawle Knox's description of this American effort as "foolhardy" reflects the British realisation that the West's position in South-East Asia must inevitably be defensive at the present stage. The precarious positions of the pro-Western governments in South-East Asia are well known, as is the difficulty of reinforcing them from the outside—even if the West had the troops to spare. Therefore Britain—like the Burmese Government—is anxious to see that the Chinese Communists are not provoked into sending troops into South-East Asia, since these troops would soon destroy the present perilous balance.

The attitude of a considerable, if not dominant, segment of official American opinion is not defensive. This was made clear in the testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by John Foster Dulles, increasingly the architect of American policy towards Asia. On January 22 he called for a "positive policy" to help "roll back despotism" instead of a "defeatist policy" which assumes the permanence of the Chinese Communist regime.

Under such a policy, the troops of Li Mi become not an isolated group of guerillas but an instrument of American strategists who want to keep the Chinese Communists "off balance" by raids on mainland China. Their importance is, thus, more political than military. They can win more victories in Washington than they can in Yunnan. They can, also, it should be understood, be the cause of World War III.

Just who is Li Mi? Lieut.-General Li Mi is a little-known Yunnan-born Kuomintang General who managed to escape through the Communist battle lines after his troops had been smashed in a decisive battle along the Eastern section of the Lunghai Railway in 1948. He came into the news when the Kuomintang appointed him as Governor of Yunnan and commander of its remaining troops after its long-time Governor, Lu Han, defected to the Communists in December 1949. In January 1950 the Kuomintang's last division on the mainland, the 26th and 8th Armies, were routed by the Communists in South Yunnan. About 10,000 troops from these units were pushed back towards the high passes linking mountainous Yunnan ("South of the Clouds") and the untamed northern stretches of Burma.

The infiltration across the largely undefended 1,000-mile Burmese border of KMT soldiers in civilian dress,

beginning in March 1950, was a source of severe embarrassment for the struggling Union of Burma Government. Its small, over-extended army could barely hold Burma's major cities and inadequately police main roads. Its Northern command could scarcely spare a couple of regiments for the mountainous, poorly demarcated border with China. Thus, while some KMT troops were disarmed and imprisoned and a few were killed in border skirmishes, the bulk filtered through. They gathered in the easternmost Shan province of Kengtung where many Chinese refugees and veterans of the war-time 93rd Division had settled as farmers in World War II. This part of the Shan States overhangs Northern Siam and its best connection with the outside world is by mule-track to Chiengmai, the northern terminus of the Siamese railway.

The bulk of these KMT troops entered between May and June 1950, just when Burma and Communist China decided to exchange recognition. In order to show its "honourable intentions" to the Peking regime, the Burmese Government flew two regiments of fresh but unseasoned troops into Kengtung and attacked the KMT troops which had dug themselves into prepared positions a few miles from the border of Siam. The Burmese took some prisoners, but the bulk escaped by breaking up into small parties, some of which crossed into Northern Siam before returning.

General Li Mi's survival and reinforcement over the next year provides an interesting insight into the complicated and shifting network of forces operating in South-East Asia. General Li Mi received the support of pro-Kuomintang elements among the locally settled Chinese and pro-Kuomintang Chinese throughout South-East Asia apparently sent him money and some recruits. With typical Chinese dexterity, the General established intimate relations with some of the autonomous feudal chieftains who valued his armed support in local rivalries with competing chieftains. The Burmese Government, lacking sufficient seasoned troops and adequate transport to cope with Li Mi militarily, tried diplomacy. It explained to the Peking Government its military inability to expel the KMT troops. The Burmese, who had no diplomatic links with Formosa, asked the U.S. in May 1951, to intercede with the Kuomintang regime there to withdraw these troublesome troops. It should have expected little support for this request because it was during this month that U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Dean Rusk made his celebrated speech implying U.S. support for rebels against the Peking regime. At the same time Burma protested to the Siamese Government for permitting gun-running across its borders into Burma. It became clear that the Siamese Government which had become increasingly pro-American and anti-Communist after it received a \$10 million grant in 1950 and was the first Asian country to send troops to Korea, was granting Li Mi's volunteers the same facilities which previous Siamese Governments had once given Ho Chi Minh's

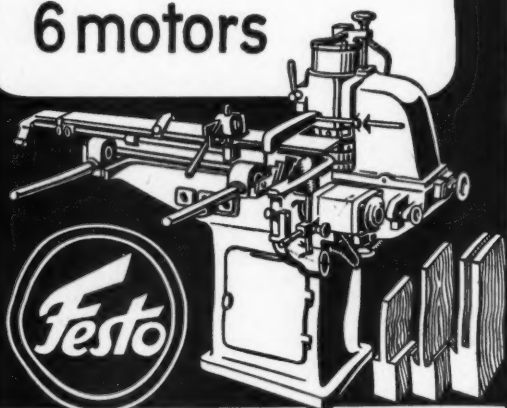
Vietminh guerillas. It placed no restrictions on the activities of Li Mi and his agents and allowed him to establish a sort of headquarters in Bangkok. It also winked at the use of the overland route for his supplies. Thus supplies can be shipped to Bangkok, sent to the railhead at Chiengmai and then taken by mule-track into the East Shan state of Kengtung. The only open question was the degree of direct U.S. support for this operation, apart from increasing general support for the Formosa regime. The Burmese learned of planes dropping supplies in the Kengtung area but were never able to prove their nationality.

General Li Mi's troops made their first major appearance in the world press last summer when agencies carried the story that three columns of his troops, allegedly totalling about 10,000 men, had thrust 65 miles into Yunnan from Burma. From Taipei, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's capital, came the wild exaggeration that the General had seized one-third of Yunnan. Taipei suddenly lost its voice in August when General Li Mi's troops began trying to filter back into comparatively hospitable Burma, after losing half their effectives in combat with the Communist forces in Yunnan. General Li Mi could console himself only with the thought that the Formosa Government's propaganda exaggerations of the success of his attack gave a temporary "shot in the arm" to the remaining guerilla bands in mainland China, fast evaporating as a result of the determined efforts of the Chinese Communists to extirpate all "counter-revolutionaries." This may have been small consolation as the heavy rains beat down and malaria took its toll in the isolated Shan hills. As the "open season" approached with the end of the rains in December it became necessary to replenish supplies and cadres if Li Mi's troops were not to disintegrate.

When news leaked out that General Li passed through Hong Kong on Christmas Eve on his way to Formosa, the Peking Government began to send off wild charges about gigantic plots to attack its South-Western borders. It was these charges that Mr. Vyshinsky repeated in a somewhat garbled form in Paris. The Peking *New China News Agency* noted the flights between Formosa and Bangkok of U.S. Army Chief of Staff, J. Lawton Collins, and other American and Kuomintang Chinese officials and came to an unproved conclusion: "All these activities indicate that under the sponsorship of the United States, a new conspiracy is hatching between the reactionary authorities of Thailand (Siam) and the Chiang gang in Taiwan (Formosa)." The agency claimed "inside information" on a conference convened on November 13. At this, they alleged, Major-General William Chase, head of the U.S. Military Assistance Advisory Group in Formosa, said: "because, at one time, the Burmese Government felt uneasy about the Kuomintang remnant troops concentrating in the northern part of the territory of Burma, the work of reinforcing

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the bandit (Kuomintang) troops had to be suspended for a while. Since the Government and public opinion of Burma have relaxed their attention on this matter, Washington circles consider that the plans fixed for transporting the bandit troops to this area must be fulfilled in the immediate future." It went on with the wild assertion that the U.S. 7th Fleet was supposed to transport 70,000 Kuomintang troops to Bangkok before the end of 1951.

It is dubious whether Peking believes that 70,000 troops can be shipped through Bangkok without anyone noticing them. And it probably has fairly accurate information on how little a threat Li Mi's guerillas comprise from a military viewpoint. But it may well have wanted to nudge Burma into taking action against the KMT guerillas using the territory as a base. But above all, the Chinese, too, have hoped to drive a wedge between the U.S. and its allies over their policy towards China.

British diplomats were overjoyed last spring with the victory of the Truman-Acheson "moderates" over General MacArthur and his supporters of an extreme policy of hostility to Peking. But they have been concerned over the tendency of Washington administration

to take over, bit by bit, the policy of the MacArthurites with regard to China. As long ago as April 14, a *Voice of America* broadcast from Washington stated: "It is one of the openest secrets here that both British and American agents have maintained contact with Resistance forces in South China from the first days and that aid to such forces has been flowing by various channels for many months." Britain's Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs expressed "dismay" at the allegation, denying there was any truth in it "as far as the United Kingdom is concerned." But the broadcast's reflection of American policy was suggested by Assistant Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, in a speech on May 18 in which he implied help to the Chinese if they would "assert their freedom" in revolt against the Peking regime which he classified as "a colonial Russian government." Although Mr. Rusk was chided for overstating the official policy of that time, a high State Department official explained the policy to Sebastian Haffner, then Washington correspondent of the *Observer*. "America tends, in fact, to continue a 'wait-and-see' policy towards the Chinese mainland watching developments and reserving the right to give diplomatic and material support to any local or national rival Government which might develop out of the present resistance and guerilla movements." These enunciations of U.S. policy must have given General Li Mi, then starting his thrust into Yunnan, tremendous encouragement.

Under the terms of last autumn's Mutual Security Act the U.S. was fully converted from a protector of the Formosa regime to an active ally. The 1952 Mutual Security programme allots \$300 million—a third of the whole Asian allotment—mostly to modernise the KMT's 25 divisions on Formosa. Its implications are spelled out in the recent New Year statement of Major-General Chase, chief of the U.S. military mission on Formosa, who described the U.S. and the Chiang regime as "equal partners in the first against the evil of Communism." He mentioned for the first time the possibility of the U.S. and Kuomintang Chinese forces working as a "team" outside Formosa. General Chase urged "even closer co-ordination" between American military advisers and the Kuomintang Chinese armed forces "to make sure that the 'team' is ready for whatever action is called for—whether it be on this island or in other troubled areas. Every man of my command is resolved to do the best he can to help you realise your plan for a completely free, strong and independent Chinese nation." It is clear that General Chase conceives as the ultimate objective of his mission the overthrow of the Communist regime in Peking and its replacement by the Chiang regime. But how far can such an objective be carried out by assisting inaccessible KMT guerillas located on the territory of a friendly state (Burma) which recognises the very Peking regime which it is apparently the General's—and American—policy to overthrow?



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# Water Power for Australia's Industries

By Hume Dow

**I**N long-term perspectives, Australia's needs are population, water for the land, and power for industry.

With a continent equal in size to the United States and a natural heritage in which petroleum is almost the only serious lack, the realisation of her possibilities demands development rather than discovery.

The lines of that development, however, have undergone a sharp change in recent years. After operating throughout most of her history on a primarily pastoral and agricultural economy, Australia, in the past decade or so, has been carrying through a major industrial revolution with remarkable speed and thoroughness. During the last world war, her secondary industries, instead of remaining accessories to a rural economy, became established in their own right and able to produce the full range of modern manufactures. By 1944-45, the products of her factories were worth more than her entire primary production, and this remarkable precedence is true even today, despite sky-rocketing prices for her wool and wheat.

The importance of increased power plant for such a changing and developing economy is obvious. Perhaps it can be seen even more clearly if we look at Australia's coal production. In 1938-39 the figure stood at 15,885,349 tons (including 12,241,859 tons of black coal and 3,643,490 tons of soft brown coal). This was sufficient to supply the basic pre-war needs of the nation and yet permit almost 400,000 tons to be exported. Since the war, coal production has been increased greatly—in 1948, a total of 21,45,590 tons was produced including 14,783,177 tons of black coal—and yet the country was desperately short of coal. The black coal figure rose to almost 17,000,000 tons in 1951, but the miners, producing more than they ever have before, are continually blamed for "slacking," because so much necessary work throughout the nation is delayed for lack of coal fuel. The shortage of power is hampering not only the expansion of industry and the urgently needed production of building materials, but is even restricting the operation of the present trans-

port system and limiting the supply of gas for domestic use.

What is the solution to this all-important problem in the nation's economy? Australia has considerable coal reserves, but many of the little-developed fields are of a low-grade bituminous type. It is unlikely that the production of anthracite will be pushed beyond the 20,000,000-ton mark at any time, and it is clear that such a figure cannot meet the demand. The answer almost certainly lies in the rapid development of the country's considerable hydro-electric potentialities.

Australia has been slow to tap this source of power. In a continent where much good soil lies idle for want of water, the first thought has always been to dam rivers for irrigation; hydro-electricity has been a secondary consideration. Since the war, however, the urgent need for power has led to the introduction of a number of large-scale schemes on the mainland.

Victoria is the natural starting point. The central massif of the Australian Alps, the nation's principal mountain group, borders the north-eastern corner of the state, and here numerous rivers drop rapidly from the High Plains to flow into the River Murray system in the plains below. One of these, the Kiewa River, was the first site chosen on the mainland for a major hydro-electric project. Although since overshadowed by the Snowy Mountains scheme, Kiewa is, with this subsequent exception, the largest single project of its sort in Australia. Unlike the many other developmental plans now under way, it was approved before the war, in 1937, and its first generating station began operating in 1944. The original scheme, however, has been considerably expanded; it now calls for six power stations and, when completed in 1956, it will have a total installed capacity of 289,000 kw. Electricity generated there is transmitted 158 miles to Melbourne and then reticulated through the state network; this is already beginning to lighten the burden on the State Electricity Commission's Melbourne and Yallourn power stations, both operated on brown coal briquettes from the Yallourn open-cut mine.

New South Wales, the principal producer of black coal, continues to depend, somewhat precariously, on this source of power. Pre-war hydro-electric development was limited to four or five comparatively small schemes, and the state will continue to be greatly under-supplied with electricity for some years to come. However, in the long view, it stands to gain most from the gigantic Snowy Mountains Hydro-Electric Scheme. This project, now being carried out under a Federal Government authority, is the largest single undertaking of any description so far contemplated in Australia; when completed in about 20

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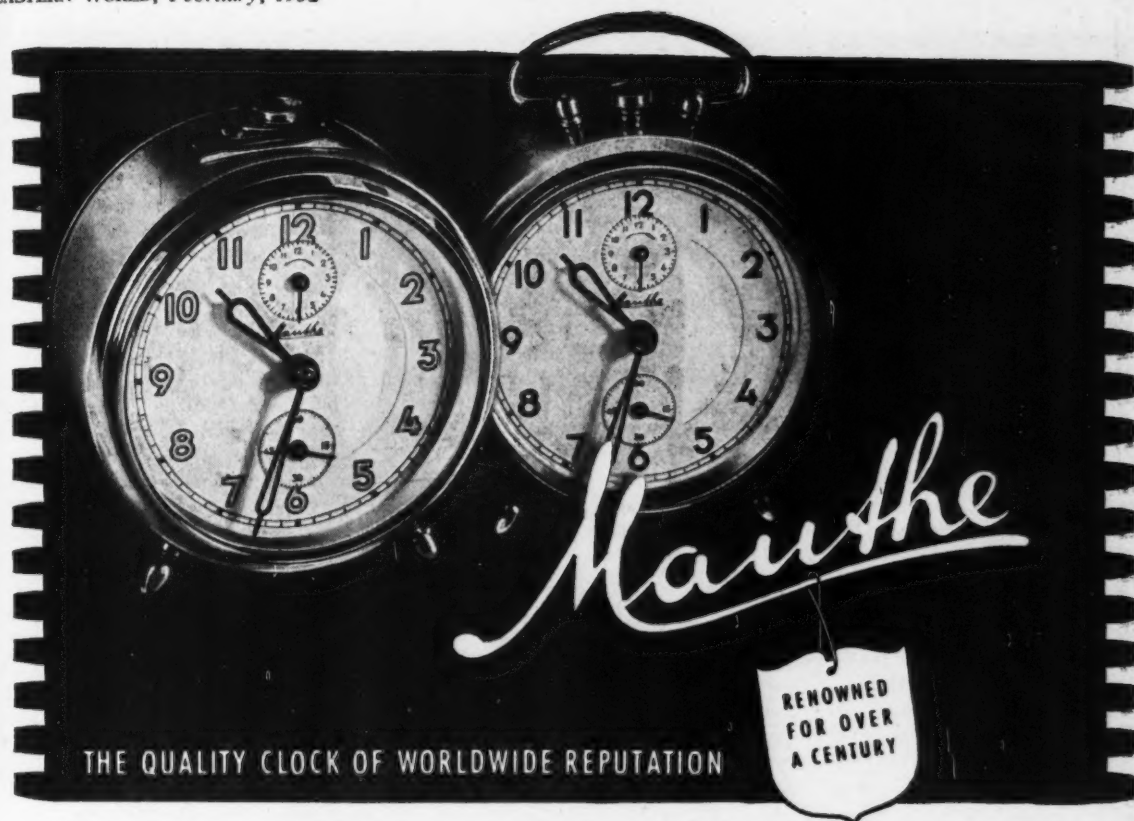
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years' time, it will produce more power than the great Tennessee Valley Authority in the United States.

The plan for developing the area is divided into two projects. One will connect three rivers (a branch of the Snowy, a branch of the Murray, and the Tumut, a major tributary of the Murrumbidgee) by a series of racelines and tunnels through the ranges, so that the flow of water can be regulated either way, using a huge storage dam at Adaminaby on the Snowy branch as a giant tank. This plan, the "Tumut project," will include four major dams, 45 miles of tunnels, and 160 miles of racelines; its seven power stations will eventually generate 1,180,000 kw.

The second plan, the "Snowy-Murray" project, is even more ambitious. Its basis is the diversion of the rest of the Snowy headwaters into the Murray itself. This involves another huge dam at Jindabyne, and a 29-mile tunnel through the mountains of the snowline country near Mt. Kosciusko itself. Nine power stations, utilising the drop of about 2,000 feet to the Murray, will develop 1,680,000 kw.

Thus the total power output will be more than 2,850,000 kw.—roughly equal to the amount of electricity that can be generated from four million tons of anthracite.

Controlling water for irrigation is a secondary consideration, but nevertheless some 2,000,000 acre feet of water will be diverted annually from the Snowy valley, where it is wasted in a big-rainfall area, to aid the development of irrigation in the Murray Basin. Work on the Snowy Mountains Scheme began in October 1949, under the new Federal authority, and it is expected that the first 60,000 kw. power station will be operating in 1954.

New South Wales' other major hydro-electric proposal, the Clarence River Project, has as yet only reached the stage of planning and detailed investigation. It would involve the damming of the Clarence River in the state's north-eastern coastal area, for the dual purpose of mitigating flood dangers and of producing about 400,000 kw. of power for the N.S.W. north coast area and for the Brisbane metropolitan area, across the border in southern Queensland.

In Queensland itself, high seasonal rainfall, variability and small catchments have inhibited hydro-electric development. It is possible that, in the distant future, much of the water which now flows rapidly down the eastern slopes of the coastal range to be wasted in the Pacific can be utilised; perhaps it may even be diverted through the



ranges and used to irrigate the dry western plains. In the meantime, however, it is likely that hydro-electric development will be restricted to a large number of small projects on the coastal rivers. The only schemes which promise large-scale development are proposals for using the waters of the Burdekin and the Tully, rivers south and north of Townsville respectively. The Burdekin Scheme, now in the early stages of construction, has three purposes—power, flood mitigation and irrigation—and should produce about 80,000 kw.

It will be noted that all these schemes are confined to the eastern coastal region of the continent. The ranges which run almost continuously from North Queensland to Victoria make up the nation's principal mountain system. The western two-thirds of the continent is singularly lacking in mountains of considerable height, and there is little possibility of any hydro-electric development in South Australia, Western Australia, or in the Northern Territory.

There remains Tasmania, the pioneer of Australia's hydro-electricity. Construction of water-power installations is almost continuous in this comparatively small island. Since the war, the Tarraleah scheme has been consolidated and its power output increased by the building of the 200-foot concrete arch Clark Dam at Butler's Gorge. Now the state's Hydro-Electric Commission has moved on to develop other streams in the same high catchment area of the Derwent and Nive Rivers. "D.P."

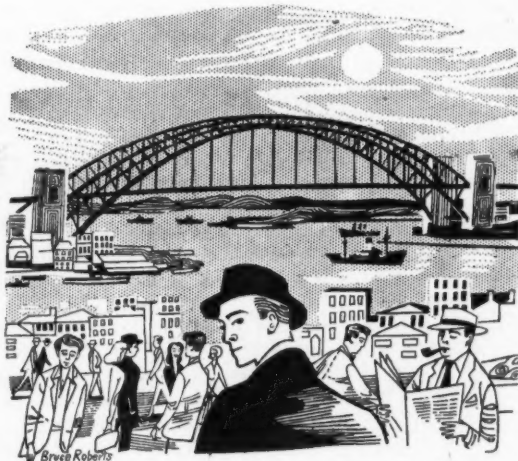
labour from Europe has been at work for four years at Bronte, where dams will control the flow of water into the Nive; here plant of 125,000 h.p. capacity will be installed. Work has also begun at Trevallyn on the South Esk River, near Launceston, to provide electric power for the new aluminium industry nearby.

This, then, is the extent of major hydro-electric development at the present time. What of the future? Perhaps perspectives will have changed by the time the Snowy Mountains Scheme is completed. Mr. A. W. Knight, Tasmania's able Hydro-Electric Commissioner, has said that "it is now getting within the realm of practicability" to transmit power from Tasmania to mainland Australia by underwater cables across 150-mile-wide Bass Strait. If that is so, what of New Guinea? It is estimated that New Guinea's water-power potential is four times as great as that of the whole of Australia, Tasmania included. Such speculation may be fruitless at this stage, but it is worth remembering that Australians tend to think in big terms—and Australia will need to go on increasing its power resources for a long time to come.

Contractors for the above schemes include: Enterprises Schneider; The English Electric Co., Ltd.; The British Thomson Houston Co., Ltd.; The General Electric Co., Ltd.; Boving and Co., Ltd.; The Brush Electrical Engineering Co., Ltd.; Hackbridge and Hewitt Electric Co., Ltd.; Metropolitan-Vickers Electric (Export) Co., Ltd.; Ransomes and Rapier, Ltd.; A. Reyrolle and Co., Ltd.; Dorman Long and Co.; Asea Electric, Ltd.; Ferranti, Ltd.

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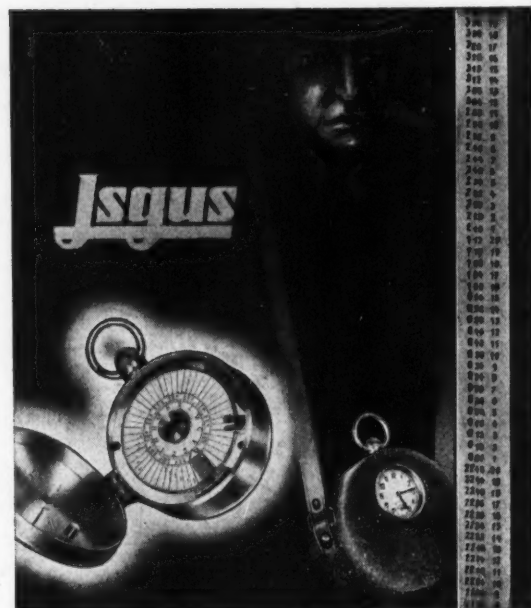
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